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Author: E.C. Hughes

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CAREER PATTERNS OF YOUNG MONTREALERS IN CERTAIN
WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS.

Report prepared for the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism

E. C. Hughes
June 1966.

CAREER PATTERNS OF YOUNG MONTREALERS IN

CERTAIN WHITE-COLLAR

OCCUPATIONS

Prepared for the

ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

by

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With the assistance of

MARGARET W. WESTLEY

and

JACQUES LAMONTAGNE

FRENCH CANADA STUDIES PROGRAMME

Montreal, June 1966.

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INTRODUCTION

When people of different ethnic groups live close to one another, there are many problems which arise, and which are worked out. The solutions to the problems are varied, in nature and in duration. In some circumstances, the solutions last for centuries. Even in such cases some change in technology, the balance of numbers, or of power, may call the whole arrangement into question.

In the western world, and especially in the Americas, the populations consist of various ethnic groups. The relations among them hardly jell in one form until they are shaken out of their mold by some combination of migration, differential fertility and technological change, or by growth of industry and cities. I mention these changes as though they were separate; they are not.

This same western world has been characterized by enterprises in nearly all field of production and exchange of goods and services. The enterprises are founded by individual, but perhaps more often by teams of individuals voluntarily associated. In seeking materials, working force and customers, the entrepreneurs and their representatives have moved about, and have brought about massive migrations; thus, also massive contacts and inter-penetrations of ethnic groups. These massive movements have not paid much heed to political frontiers. Hence ethnic boundaries do not correspond to political boundaries.

In the great industrial regions (including regions of industrial agriculture) the managerial and other labor force are invariably ethnically heterogeneous. Never has there been such a region in which individuals of various ethnic categories were distributed as by chance throughout the positions in the labor force. Each ethnic group has had its own history, in which it has developed aptitude and ambition for various kinds of work, effort and risk; taste for various goods and services, including religion, arts (including adornment), and sports. When ethnic groups come into such contact that they compete in the market for labor, services and goods, each of their characteristics -- developed in isolation -- becomes potentially an asset or a liability; or, more exactly

combinations of characteristics tend to determine the kind of place each group will find in the new multi-ethnic system of things.

Usually, one ethnic group is more passive with respect to economic innovation than are others in the same region. A characteristic situation is that in which a native rural population produces excess population which becomes the labor force for enterprises promoted by an outside ethnic group. This was the case in the German Rheinland, in Poland, in the American South, in most of Latin America, and notably in Québec.

In these cases characteristically there are two sets of leading people. One is industrial, and oriented to the industrial and financial centres of the world. The other is a service élite, providing personal professional, bureaucratic and political, and perhaps religious and other cultural services for the local population and government.

These patterns are common place, known to all students of multi-ethnic societies. I mention them because I think it important to see Canadian problems as not entirely unique.

Another reason for mentioning these rather general patterns is the opposite one; that there is a danger of overlooking the particular and new features of the Canadian situation. One of these features is certainly the dramatic change in the labor force itself.

Professor Marcel Daneau of Université Laval last year presented to a convention of Caisses Populaires a paper entitled, "Evolution Economique du Québec, 1950-1965." He mustered several lines of evidence, all pointing in the direction of what Kenneth Boulding has called the post-industrial economy. Industrial production increases greatly without a corresponding increase in the labor force engaged in industrial production. Agricultural production increases sharply while both the number and proportion of workers engaged in it drop precipitously. The number and proportion of the adult population engaged in the tertiary sector of the economy increase rapidly. Not all of the "Tertiary" people are in white-collar occupations, but a large and increasing proportion of them are.

There will be but few farmers' sons coming to town, looking for any sort of job at industrial labor, for there are fewer farmers and each has fewer sons.

The young people entering the labor force are and will be urban in origin; they must, if they are to work at all, find places in the growing tertiary, white-collar sector of the economy. Many of the occupations available to them are so new that their parents and school teachers never heard of them. Some of them will not last as long as a man's working life. It is and will be a time of volatility and self-consciousness about occupations, education and careers; a time of questioning about many things, -- and especially the places of ethnic groups in the economy and society.

Another characteristic of this epoch is that more and more of the things young people must learn in order to work and live are not peculiar to any one ethnic culture. Every profession consists of some combination of universal with culturally peculiar knowledge and skill. What happens when the margin of difference in the content of the education required by members of two ethnic groups become less -- when both require much the same kind of knowledge and skill. The young people caught in the dilemmas of such time are likely -- one would guess -- to be self-conscious about their problems. If they are of a group already of minority mind, one would expect a strong resurgence of unrest.

What I have written thus far present, is a way of looking at modern multi-ethnic societies. It emphasizes social and economic structure rather than personal prejudice important as such prejudice may be. Prejudice is itself something that develops in actual historical situations, and becomes a factor in what happens later in them.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWERS

We are trying to get a life history of each individual, showing his past, his present and his expectations for the future, noting the relationship of various events in his life or his work. In this multi-ethnic economy, we expect that for most people ethnic identification will turn out to be important.

What we want is a long, free interview, which the interviewer will more or less guide, but not try to control strictly. The accompanying chart and outline show points which you should try to cover. It can be used as a guide by having it before you to note down points on, and to help you make sure you are covering all the points. You should however, immediately after the interview, get to your home base, or to some place, where you can with a minimum of interruption write out as fully as you can the whole interview, including your questions. You can then note down briefly on a copy of the chart, opposite the proper year and date, and in the proper column turning points and events of importance. Also note the page on your chart where that event is told of in your interview notes. Of course, you might have to use more than one chart to complete a history.

THE INTERVIEW:

Don't rush into the interview proper, if a bit of casual conversation seems to ease the situation, but always explain who you are, that you are hired for a research project being undertaken by a professor who teaches at McGill and at the Université de Montréal. Tell how we got the interviewee's name and that everything he tells us is confidential and will not appear anywhere as information about a particular individual. Remember that all people know things and that social science depends on putting together what people tell us. We are grateful for their help. Remember also that at this time there are many changes occurring in the lives and work of the people you will be interviewing, many of which will have ethnic complications, but we are interested in all changes, with or without these complications.

You will be supplied with letters of introduction, but use them only if they are asked for.

Use your own judgment and ingenuity about how to approach these people. After a few interviews you will discover which questions tend to open people up and which questions tend to shut them up. It has been suggested that starting with childhood and neutral experiences is a good way to establish rapport before getting to the more sensitive areas in their present experience. If this proves to be the case, do so, but be careful not to get so much history that there's no time for finding out about the respondent's present situation. In general, we want the most detail about the present. Some people ramble, but most of them stick to the point, so don't shut them off unnecessarily. And don't

fail to pick up clues, e.g., if a person says, "My family moved", your response should be, "Do you know why your family moved?" -- or if ego himself moves, be sure to find out why.

As interview approaches the end, pause to look over notes to see if you think you have everything you need to know. Be sure to thank them and ask if you can come back, if necessary. On the record you write afterward, be sure to put the name of the respondent, the date of the interview, hour name on each page. Type with a carbon copy. Use real names of respondents. We will make up list of pseudonyms to be used in referring to cases.

We are asking a number of people in the earlier phases of their careers in business, industry or the professions to help us understand the careers and problems of their generation. This they can do by giving us, in strict confidence, the story of their own education and work, and of other aspects of their lives which may have affected their work history.

There are good reasons for doing this at the present time. Rapid changes in technology and in the organization of work bring corresponding changes in the careers and plans of individuals.

Few people work alone, even in the traditional professions where 'solo' practice was once the rule. Careers are in part movement through organizations; sometimes from place to place. However clearly one may think he sees the course of his career in advance, he still will discover new possibilities and problems as he goes on.

A person's work puts him into contact with people; the public, fellow workers, superiors and subordinates. Every job has its own combination of such contacts; every promotion is likely to change the combination. Some of the people will be of his own language and group; others not. This is so nearly everywhere, but especially so in Eastern Canada.

Many things may affect a man's career; his health, his marriage, his education, his language, his tastes and ambitions. In the free-style interviews which we hope to conduct with you and others, we will look for the full range of things which may be associated with a person's work and affect how he sees his present situation and his future.

You may trust the person who will interview you to report your statements accurately and to report them only to us in the project.

The information which you may give us will be pooled with that given by others, in a variety of occupations and working for various employers or on their own. The resulting report will be such that no

individual can be identified; it will deal with the problems of people, not with particular people. We undertake the project in the faith that what we find out will be of use in both the understanding and the solving of problems.

The only way we can find out about people is to get to them.

Yours gratefully,

Everett C. Hughes,
Professor of Sociology, McGill University
Professeur de sociologie, Université de Montréal.

Jacqueline Massé,
Assistant professeur de sociologie,
Université de Montréal.

Margaret Westley,
Research Assistant,
French Canada Studies Programme,
McGill University.

Nous cherchons à comprendre ce que sont les problèmes de cette génération de gens déjà bien lancés dans leurs carrières, mais encore jeunes, -- dans les affaires, l'industrie et les professions libérales ou technologiques. Dans ce but, nous voulons avoir d'un certain nombre d'individus, l'histoire de leur formation, de leurs études, de leurs emplois et des divers étapes dans leur carrière jusqu'au moment actuel, et des événements et circonstances quelconques qui auraient eu une certaine influence indirecte sur leur travail.

Pourquoi entreprendre une telle enquête au moment actuel? Parce que c'est un temps de changements, presqu'un temps de révolution dans la technologie comme dans l'organisation du travail; ces changements ne sont pas sans influence profonde sur les carrières, sur les projets et sur les perspectives des individus.

Rares sont ceux qui travaillent seul aujourd'hui, même dans les professions libérales dont la tradition dit que l'individu travaille à son compte dans son étude privée. Une carrière moderne est un mouvement dans un labyrinthe d'une organisation; souvent on doit se déplacer dans d'autres villes ou d'autres régions. Même si on entrait dans sa carrière avec une image claire de son travail, il se trouve aujourd'hui, à chaque étape, des nouvelles possibilités, de nouveaux problèmes, des nouvelles perspectives.

Par son travail une personne est en contact avec plusieurs personnes: le public, les compagnons de travail, les personnes au-dessus et au-dessous d'elle. Chaque personne, dans une occupation, est entourée d'un agencement particulier de contacts, chaque promotion peut changer cet agencement. Quelques personnes parleront la même langue; d'autres parleront une langue différente. Ceci est la situation générale mais elle se trouve particulièrement dans l'est du Canada.

NOMBREUSES SONT LES CIRCONSTANCES QUI EXERCENT UNE CERTAINE INFLUENCE SUR LA CARRIÈRE D'UN HOMME, OU D'UNE FEMME: SA SANTÉ, SON MARIAGE, SES ENFANTS, SA FORMATION, SA LANGUE OU SES LANGUES, SES GOÛTS, SES AMBITIONS. DANS NOS INTERVIEWS LIBRES, AVEC VOUS-MÊMES ET D'AUTRES, NOUS CHERCHERONS À EXPLORER UN LARGE SPECTRUM DES CIRCONSTANCES QUI POURRAIENT, D'UNE FAÇON OU D'UNE AUTRE, PORTER UNE INFLUENCE SUR LE TRAVAIL PROFESSIONNEL D'UN INDIVIDU.

L'intervieweur qui viendra vous demander votre collaboration comprend et respectera notre éthique. Il ne communiquera vos propos à personne sauf à nous qui sommes dans l'équipe

Les propos que vous donnerez éventuellement, une fois analysés, seront la substance d'un rapport sur des problèmes de carrières dans diverses industries et professions. Employeurs et employés seront également anonymes. Nous travaillerons dans l'espoir que les résultats jettent de la lumière sur la situation de votre génération.

Nous serons bien reconnaissant de la collaboration de tous ceux qui nous donneront leur confiance et leur temps.

Veuillez accepter nos remerciements,

Everett C. Hughes,
Professeur de sociologie,
Université de Montréal,
Professor of Sociology,
McGill University.

Jacqueline Massé,
Assistant professeur de sociologie,
Université de Montréal.

Margaret Westley,
Research Assistant,
Centre d'études canadiennes-françaises,
McGill University.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR USING LIFE HISTORY CHART

- AGE: Write in age opposite each crucial event.
- YEAR AND HISTORICAL EVENTS: Key local and historic events which affect his career, e.g., depressions, political movements, law affecting the status of women, founding of a new university, wars, etc.
- HEALTH: Note here not merely general health, but anything in his physical condition which affects work, e.g., a nurse finds ward duty required too much walking; a hockey player cannot keep up after a certain age; the effects of the normal physical life cycle (pregnancy in women, for example.) Do not include health of anyone other than ego.
- FAMILY: Start with the family into which ego is born, economic and social circumstances during his childhood; its composition; whether one or both parents are in household, number of siblings, their ages in relationship to ego. As one proceeds ego will ordinarily pass from a position of subordination in his parent's family to a phase wherein his position is that of equal or head in his family. Particularly note ethnicity class and religion of ego's spouse. These phases should be reported fully whenever they have any effect on ego's work or development. Do not overlook in-laws. For example, does not accept new job because wife is pregnant or too ill to move, mother-in-law objects to her daughter moving too far away; becomes responsible for aged parents.
- RESIDENCE: This should include country, province, town or city. If not well-known city, give its size and nature, and who lives there (general groups of population). Style of house, or apartment, neighborhood, ethnic and class environment. Very often change in job is accompanied by change of residence.
- COMMUNITY: The role of ego's parental family in the community, e.g., church, politics, professional associations, informal social life. Then ego's own role as he goes through the various phases of his own career.

SCHOOL:

-

Ego's: public, private, language, religious affiliation, and in Quebec, specifically the kind of school (with explanation). Here are crucial turning points, e.g., whether to go to collège classique, turning from classical to vocational, quitting school or trying to return. Note role of family in making these decisions, and reasons for the decisions. Be sure to get name of institution and its affiliations. Ordinarily we think of work as following school, but there are many cases when people go to work first, then back to school, or both at the same time.

WORK:

A complete work history, dates, kind of work, wages or salary, and position in the organization. Note the difference between interim work (waiting on tables to pay tuition) and work which the person regards as part of his career. Include any promotions, job changes, changes in salary, even if ego stays in same organization. Change in use of time and energy. (economy). Get detailed diagram of respondent's present work situation, showing his subordinates, equals and superiors, how many people are involved, their ethnic backgrounds, etc. Ego's satisfaction with his work and with his progress at work and his aspirations and about the probability that he will get ahead as he likes and about any obstacles that he has met or expects to meet.

ETHNIC:

Ethnic identification of both parents; language of the household, of neighborhood, school, church, play or social groups; ego's own ethnic definition by self and others, especially at work. Attention to any problems or expression of feeling around ethnic relations.

NAME:
NOM:

DATE OF INTERVIEW: DATE INTERVIEW:

INTERVIEWER

AGE	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35-
ECOLE																										

TRAV.

C H A P T E R I

THE PROJECT

When colleagues at McGill and on the staff of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism suggested that I take part in the studies related to the Commission's mandate, I made a proposal that grew out of this way of looking at the matter. It had been suggested by some that I take another look at the industrial city which I had studied in 1936 and 1937 and reported on in French Canada in Transition. I did not do that.

University of Chicago Press, 1943. Publication was delayed by the war. A paperbacked edition appeared in 1963, with a preface which shows changes in population in the interval since the study was made. The town and the main industry have grown. People who have some acquaintance say that the essential relationship of the two main ethnic groups in industry has not changed much. In those days no French-Catholic youngster could prepare for university without going to Ste-Hyacinthe or Nicolet to a classical college. There is now a collège there. No doubt the town has become more city-like in many respects.

It had been my intention in the 1930's to study a series of communities, small and large, old and new, each with some particular pattern of industrial and other institutions and of proportions of French and other population. Québec City and Montreal were to cap the series. Cantonville was, in my plan, merely a take-off point.

In the time since then Montreal has become more and more the dominant center of the French Canada, and especially the point at which changes enter. I decided to do now whatever small project might be possible in

Montreal and to make it an exploration of a point of change. The emphasis is not upon change among French Canadians, but on massive rapid change which strikes the whole society and economy, including the French Canadians. I would not again use the phrase "French Canada in Transition", for I do not believe change in a modern industrial society ever affects only one ethnic group.

Here is how I stated my proposal:

Proposal for Study of the Careers and Career Aspirations
of Young Canadians, some of French, some of other Backgrounds:

Major economic and social changes nearly always strike the various ethnic groups in a society and a labor force at different times and rates. Thus the massive urbanization and industrialization of North America struck French Canadians somewhat later than New Englanders and English Canadians. But French Canadians are now as urban and industrial, if not more so, than other Canadians. The effects of their later entrance remains in their distribution among the various positions in industry.

There is now a second major trend. It is the plummeting downward of the agricultural labor force throughout North America (one hears of 35,000 unprofitable farms in Quebec) without a corresponding increase in the demand for unskilled and semiskilled industrial labor. That trend is accompanied by an increase of the proportion of the labor force in white-collar positions and in professional or quasi-professional occupations. In the U.S., about fifty years ago the overwhelming majority of those who entered the labor force in any year, entered with less than eight years of school; now the overwhelming majority enter with twelve years or more. The situation must be much the same throughout Canada, and especially in industrial Canada (Ontario and Quebec).

The professional trend has two prongs. There is a great increase in the number of professions, hence in the demand for new kinds of professional training in the way in which professions are practiced. They tend to be practiced in complicated organizations, in which the professionals tend to perform 'staff' rather than 'line' functions. Incidentally, it is generally true that an ethnic group which enters industry later than the founders tends to move upward into staff (accounting, designing, personnel, etc.) positions rather than into 'line' (command) positions.

Without pursuing this line of thought further, it is not very likely that there is great stress and strain among young Canadians, and that there is more of it among young French Canadians, over their careers, career prospects and their training for careers? The French-Canadian youth appears to be entering a world in which the most prized careers of their elders and of their educational leaders of yesteryear appear to have but dubious prospects, and in which English Canadians appear to have a head start. But their situation is probably merely an exaggeration of the situation of all youth in highly industrialized countries.

Thus I am led to propose a study of careers of young Canadians.

I think of long, intimate interviews with small numbers of young people in various vocational schools, in various faculties of the universities, some in their first jobs and their first measuring of the realities of work, some five, some perhaps ten years out of university or vocational schools.

These longer interviews with small numbers of young people might lead to shorter interviews with much larger samples in statistically well-stratified, administrated by some established research organization or by some

combination of universities. One might also, depending on the nature of the findings of the interviews, want to observe the relations in various organizations in which people work: factories, retail establishments, clinics, hospitals, government agencies, large white-collar organizations such as banks, insurance companies, etc.

The aim of the interviews would be to let young people talk in a rather free manner about the career aspirations, the kind of work they want to do, the levels which they hope to attain. I fear that ordinary vocational guidance would stereotype the statements which young people would make.

One would also seek to get the ideas which young people in school or university think are the actual activities which they will engage in -- various occupations, and what is the nature of the organizations in which the work is done. We would also want to probe them about their first experience at work, with attention to whatever "reality shock" they suffered from learning the facts of life as to the quality and usefulness of their schooling and the validity of their ideas, of what demands would be made upon them, the qualities which appear to make people get ahead, and the qualities which get people ahead, and finally the advantages and disadvantages of their own ethnic background and language in these work settings.

From those who have been out longer we would want the development of their careers and of attitudes relating to their occupation and other specific organizations in which they have worked. The data here would, of course, include a detailed work history showing all jobs which the subject has had, and getting his account of what work he actually did, and of the relations among people on each job including

ethnic relations and use of language. As I said above we would want people who had been at work for perhaps about five or ten years. This seems to be about the period in which some settle down while others appear to take the turn upwards. It also, I believe, is the period in which a man's basic style of work and level of effort are determined. That makes it also the period in which if he does not succeed he begins to make up his rationalizations, his personal or "peer" excuses about the system and its evils. I do not assume that these excuses are wrong. They are important whether they are wrong or not. Given the present rate of technological and organizational change, it is also likely that some people will already by this time have become obsolete. The passing of the crisis of obsolescence is a common feature of our economy.

In all of this we would keep in mind that some institutions in Quebec are separate by ethnic or religious groups, others not. ... Medicine, education, and charity have been in the main organized separately by religion which means generally also by language. While there is one set of courts and legal institutions, the law profession has been largely divided in its contacts with clients. The effect of economic and technological change on these patterns and on careers in the appropriate institutions should be studied. The areas in which all the ethnic groups want essentially the same goods and services and accept them from the same hands as against those in which there are differences of customer demands either as to what is wanted or to what hands one will take it from should be looked into. There may be important changes going on.

Essentially I would concentrate on careers -- reality, aspirations, frustrations -- and on their relations to social and perhaps political attitudes. The relevance of such

material for educational policies should be obvious.

The project was undertaken in the winter, spring and summer of 1965. In the second term of the 1964-65 academic year I held a seminar on the study of careers at each of the two older universities, Université de Montréal and McGill University. The seminars gave new leads on career problems of Montreal young people; they also were recruiting grounds for interviewers to work on the project. Early in my visit here I learned about some of the other projects being carried on; notably Mr. Dofny's project to compare French and non-French (English) engineers in this region. The coverage of the field by his and other projects confirmed me in my notion that I should explore, rather than attempt a definitive study based on a sampling of one of the more clearly defined professional groups.

According I worked out an interview form with the help of Mrs. Margaret W. Westley, my research associate at McGill University, and Dr. Jacqueline Massé, assistant professor of sociology at Université de Montréal. It is essentially a guide for getting a school-and-work life history of individuals, and for noting the relations between work experience and other aspects of a person's life. A copy is attached, as well of instructions to interviewers and of the letters sent to prospective subjects. All interviewers were completely bilingual so that choice of language for the interview lay completely with the persons interviewed.

We sought our subjects in a variety of occupations and institutions. We were looking essentially for people in the earlier phases, but not at the beginning of their careers. We were also looking neither for workers who have no hope or plans for promotion, nor for people firmly established in leading professions or in the higher levels of management. As a sort of background group, we got employees of lower to middle supervisory position in one large corporation which operates a public utility and another large corporation which produces, processes and markets a trade-marked product. The latter might be classed as light industry, with

ever more advanced use of machinery. Both show the highly bureaucratic organization common in larger modern industrial and businesses with thoroughly worked out systems of seniority, in-service training leading to promotion, classification of jobs, and a strong tendency to hold on to their help.

We started with employees whose names were given us from the management of the two companies, with assurances that we were not to report directly to them any of our findings. The personnel departments of the two companies were very cooperative indeed, as were their employees whom we interviewed.

As we proceeded with those interviews we made other connections with several occupations which are undergoing rapid change, in which careers show special forms. We interviewed several people who had at one time been engaged fully and on salary with the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique, a social movement which profoundly affected a generation of French-Canadian students: their later careers seem clearly to have been affected by their experiences in the movement. In the summer of 1966, a school was held at l'Université de Montréal for officials of labor unions. We seized the opportunity to learn of the careers of several of the men who attended it. By chance we ran across a couple of bilingual private secretaries; they appeared to play a special role in the Montreal system of things, so we sought out more and interviewed them.

Thus, we do not have a sample of some known universe, but rather a dip into a number of occupations or kinds of careers which would almost certainly not appear in any sample made up from a list of established occupations. If we found so many careers of unusual kinds in a small project and without systematic search, there must be many people indeed not engaged in the conventionally listed occupations; and what is more significant, many who have not followed the career pattern ordinarily used in study of occupations and careers.

That pattern assumes the following sequence:

1. Pre-school infancy.
2. A certain number of years of school, during which an occupation is chosen and, in some measure, prepared for. The number of years depends upon many things, including family circumstances, ambitions, health, and abilities of the individual.
3. Work following school, with some advancement in rank, and income until the time of retirement. Interruptions of work on the part of a man are expected only for reasons of military service, or bad health. It is ordinarily assumed that the occupation a person chooses will outlast the person who chooses it, with no more technological or other change than an alert individual can master. Recently, some account has been taken of the careers of women, with an interruption for child-rearing.
4. Retirement. Actually, relatively few of our cases show this sequence, but that will be shown later. For the moment, the point is that our interview form and the instructions given our interviewers, along with the conferences held with them week after week, were intended to bring in the whole range of activities of the subjects, including interruptions of work, return to school, and so on.

The accompanying tables show (1) how many people of different kinds we interviewed, (2) certain characteristics and facts about them.

TABLE I

p.-23

Numbers of persons interviewed concerning their careers by the category
in which we found them.

Private industry

Employees of a large utility company operating in
Quebec and Ontario.....

34

Employees of a large company engaged nationally in
light manufacture and distribution of its product.....

23

57

Professions, especially new and changing ones, and related white-collar
occupations

Nurses.....

28

Other paramedical.....

8

Other new professions.....

10

Radio, television, cinema: writers, producers
and actors.....

9

Young physicians.....

6

Teachers.....

4

Private secretaries.....

14

79

Other categories (chosen because of their relation to changing careers)

People once engaged in a social movement (Jeunesse
Etudiante Catholique).....

9

Union leaders studying to be more "professional"
(Collège du Travail).....

19

People studying in the programme for "B.A." for
adults (Université de Montréal).....

15

Association des hommes d'affaires.....

4

Housewives (Mères de famille).....

3

50

Total:

186

PEOPLE INTERVIEWED BY OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

Total by sex	Average			Years of school			Attended classical college			Men once or now in a religious community			Women once or now in a religious community		
	M	F	all	M	F	all	M	F	prop	once	now	all	once	now	all
29	5	34	35	32	14.2	11.6	13.8	7/29	0/5	7/34			1		1
20	3	23	29	25	14.9	13.3	14.7	5/20	1/3	6/23			1		
49	8	57													
0	28	28	33				17.2	17.2		8/28	8/28		1	5	6
0	8	8	31				16.6	16.6		4/8	4/8		1		1
7	3	10	29	36	17.1	15.7	16.7	5/7	0/3	5/10					
7	2	9	33	34	14.4	12.0	13.9	7/7	1/2	8/9	1		1		
5	1	6	31	23	21.7	19.5	21.0	5/5	1/1	6/6	1		1		
3	1	4	43	27	17.6	16.0	17.2	2/3	0/1	2/4	1		1		
	14	14		37			12.3	12.3		6/14	6/14				
23	56	79													
5	4	9	37	34	19.2	15.5	17.5	5/5	3/3	8/8			2	2	
18	1	19	35	33	11.3	12.0	11.3	3/18	0/1	3/19	3		3		
9	6	15	31	26	14.7	14.2	14.5	5/9	2/6	7/15	1		1		
4		4		28											
	3	3													
36	14	50													
106	79	186											8	2	10
													3	5	8
													31	30	

TABLE II

CHAPTER TWO

CAREERS OF EMPLOYEES OF A UTILITY COMPANY

These are employees of lower to middle supervisory ranks of a utility which serves nearly all houses and offices in any modern community. As is the case with most utilities, complete territorial monopoly allows one organization to serve all households and businesses in a region. Since the utility is, in this case, a private company any reader knows it is not electrical power which, in Quebec, has been nationalized; i.e., taken over by the province, or the Etat, as it is now called. So go ahead and guess.

Maintenance and installation of equipment along with the work of distributing service to the public requires a large force of employees doing work that is much the same throughout the world. Much technical skill is required, but it is skill of a standard, rather routine sort. The work is thus highly standardized. Positions in the organization are easy to bring into bureaucratic categories, so that the level of supervision, salary, etc., may be designated by number. Employees may be transferred to other territories where the same company operates; or they may of their own initiative seek similar or better positions in other regions. Sometimes they, or their wives, prefer staying where they are to promotions which would require living among strangers or speaking another language.

The company has been English at the top in the past, but has used French or English personnel for contact with customers as the situation required. The analysis of the interviews which follows was made by my interviewer and collaborator, M. Jacques Lamontagne:

Il y a deux approches que nous pouvons prendre pour faire l'analyse de la carrière des employés de cette compagnie: on peut

partir de l'institution de travail, ou bien de l'histoire personnelle des personnes. Ces deux approches doivent être prises successivement si on veut en arriver à avoir une compréhension des problèmes de ces gens.

L'examen de l'institution elle-même nous sera utile en ce sens que nous pourrons connaître les exigences non seulement de la vie bureaucratique mais aussi de la rencontre des deux mondes ethniques au sein de la même institution. La direction de la compagnie est anglophone, cela est bien entendu, même si son président est un "Canadien français". D'ailleurs le président n'est-il pas largement assimilé au monde anglo-saxon et capitaliste? Il me semble donc que le pôle d'attraction économique et culturelle à la compagnie soit le monde anglais et capitaliste.

Je n'élaborerai pas plus ces données de base concernant l'institution dans laquelle doivent s'inscrire les employés. Qu'il nous suffise de retenir que la compagnie est plus qu'une bureaucratie: c'est une entreprise qui est détenue par le monde des affaires anglais. Or, on sait comment les Canadiens français sont étrangers à ce monde des affaires.

Mais puisq'il y a une bonne proportion des employés qui sont Canadiens français -- en particulier aux bas échelons -- on peut se demander quelle sort de gens ils sont et quels problèmes ils affrontent dans leur carrière.

Un employé qui a une faible conscience sociale et politique et qui, en plus, n'a pas beaucoup d'ambition, sera peu troublé par sa situation d'inériorité ethnique et occupationnelle au sein de la compagnie. Un employé plus lucide et plus ambitieux, par contre, pourra éprouver des frustrations dans sa carrière; il voudra défoncer des barrières. Ne pouvant lutter seul contre l'institution, il cherchera peut-être alors à se tailler une carrière

ailleurs.

Des chiffres semblent indiquer que l'accession des Canadiens français aux postes supérieurs de la compagnie est plus grande depuis quelque temps. En outre, on a remarqué chez certains employés canadiens-anglais le désir d'apprendre la langue française. Il s'agit en somme d'une plus grande reconnaissance du fait canadien-français à la compagnie. Si la compagnie offre plus de chances de promotion aux Canadiens français, peut-on supposer qu'à l'avenir un plus grand nombre de Canadiens français compétents et ambitieux voudront aller travailler pour cette compagnie?

Caractéristiques générales des employés de la compagnie

Parmi nos trente-trois interviewés, quinze sont de langue anglaise, les dix-huit autres étant de langue française. Onze des quinze anglophones n'ont jamais parlé le français et ont toujours vécu à l'école et au travail dans un milieu unilingue anglais. Quatre des quinze dont trois femmes ont déjà travaillé dans un milieu bilingue. Un seul anglophone a déjà vécu dans un milieu totalement français pendant quelque temps: il s'agit d'un Irlandais catholique qui a fait quelques années d'école primaire en français.

Les dix-huit Canadiens français ont tous vécu dans un milieu bilingue: il s'agit de leur milieu de travail, cette même compagnie. En outre, quatre des dix-huit ont déjà fréquenté une école anglaise.

L'âge moyen des hommes interviewés est trente-cinq ans; celui des femmes est trente-deux ans. Le nombre d'années d'études moyen pour les hommes est quatorze ans; pour les femmes, moins de douze ans.

Sept des interviewés ont fait tout ou une partie de leurs études pour

pour le B.A. Deux sont anglophones et ont fait leur baccalauréat du type anglo-saxon. Quatre francophones ont obtenu leur B.A. dans les collèges classiques traditionnels canadiens-français. Un autre n'a pas terminé ses études classiques, faute d'argent Il s'est rendu jusqu'en versification, grâce à une bourse. Il voulait être ingénieur. Mais il n'avait pas assez d'argent pour poursuivre ses études, car il y avait d'autres enfants à faire instruire dans la famille. Il a dû abandonner ses études.

Deux des interviewées ont déjà interrompu leur travail pour cause de grossesse, mais elles sont retournées au travail après la naissance de leur enfant. Trois employés ont quitté la compagnie pour faire leur cours d'ingénieur; après l'obtention de leur diplôme, ils sont retournés à la compagnie. Un autre interviewé, un technicien, a suivi pendant six ans des cours du soir menant au baccalauréat ès arts. Après avoir obtenu son diplôme, il a décidé d'entrer en Lettres et ne songe nullement retourner travailler pour la compagnie.

Un employé moyen à la compagnie

Voici l'esquisse du portrait d'un employé moyen à notre compagnie. L'homme en question provient d'une famille ouvrière ou de classe moyenne. Il ne suit pas les traces de son père. Grâce à une instruction plus avancée, il commencera à travailler à un échelon plus élevé que le poste occupé par son père.

Cet homme n'a pas eu de violent choc ethnique (J'entends par choc ethnique un expérience avec un autre groupe ethnique qui ait pu marquer la personne dans son comportement avec les autres et dans son orientation face à l'avenir). Je considère qu'un violent choc ethnique peut conduire

une personne soit à s'engager plus à fond dans un ethnocentrisme, soit à s'orienter carrément vers l'autre ethnie en cherchant à intérioriser ses valeurs et à imiter son comportement.

S'il est de langue anglaise, on peut supposer que notre homme n'a pas eu de choc ethnique du tout. S'il est d'origine française, on peut s'attendre au contraire à ce qu'il valorise beaucoup la culture anglo-saxonne. Il se produit souvent que c'est le père de la personne en question qui lui a fait sentir l'importance et la force de tout ce qui est anglais. Mais, malgré son orientation au monde anglais, la personne continue quand même à parler le français dans sa famille. Il est évident qu'au travail elle parle presqu'exclusivement l'anglais. Le choc ethnique pour cette personne peut avoir causé une détermination durable dans l'orientation de sa vie, sans pour cela avoir été violent.

Il a fréquenté l'école primaire, puis l'école secondaire publique. Dans certains cas, assez rares, il a fait des études classiques, ou a fréquenté une université anglophone comme "undergraduate", puis il a suivi des cours en génie. On peut s'attendre, d'ailleurs, à trouver un nombre relativement élevé d'ingénieurs et techniciens.

Il est encore assez jeune lorsqu'il commence à travailler à la compagnie. Dans certains cas, il commence à dix-sept - dix-huit ans. Dans le cas où il a une formation universitaire, il commence vers vingt-quatre ans. En générale, cette compagnie est le premier ou un de ses premiers employeurs.

Notre homme peut être défini par ses supérieurs comme étant "on the move". Il est une personne chez qui se réalise une mobilité vert-

icale assez grande à l'intérieur de la même institution de travail. On le voit souvent passer en l'espace de quelques années du 1er au 4e niveau, (assez élevé).

Quant à la langue parlée au travail, on voit que plus l'on monte dans l'échelle des niveaux, plus la langue utilisée devient l'anglais. Au bas échelons travaillent une grande proportion de Canadiens français. Les patrons de ces Canadiens français ont besoin de parler le français pour se faire comprendre de leurs employés. Mais à mesure que l'on monte dans la hiérarchie, la langue de communication verbale et écrite devient l'anglais. Que le président soit un Canadien français est un trompe-l'oeil puisque la réalité fait bien voir la prédominance de l'élément anglo-saxon dans les postes supérieurs.

Il serait difficile de savoir si notre homme est satisfait de son travail, tant on a peine à distinguer chez-lui ses aspirations propres et ce que la compagnie l'engage à penser. En d'autres termes, il est devenu avec le temps un "company man". Il dit parfois que si sa vie était à recommencer il choisirait une profession libérale ou bien il partirait à son compte comme, d'ailleurs, disent les employés du même niveau dans beaucoup d'organisations semblables. Mais en générale, il dit ce que pense la compagnie. Il a des idées capitalistes, anglo-saxonnes, conservatrices. Il s'oppose à la nationalisation de la compagnie. Est-il ou non satisfait, nous ne saurions le dire. Nous avons pu voir, cependant, qu'un sentiment d'appartenance et de loyauté à la compagnie s'est développé chez-lui. Ce sentiment pourrait tenir à la politique de la compagnie, aussi bien qu'à un désir de sécurité de la part de l'employé.

Il est marié. il a quelques enfants. Il a réussi à s'amasser assez

de capital pour s'acheter une petite maison en banlieu. Il ne l'a pas payée comptant, bien sûr, mais son emploi lui offre assez de sécurité pour qu'il réussisse à faire régulièrement ses paiements.

S'il est de langue française, il veut que ses enfants apprennent l'anglais le plus tôt possible, "afin qu'ils se débrouillent mieux dans la vie". Dans certains cas, il verra même à ce que ses enfants fassent une ou plusieurs années d'études dans une institution de langue anglaise. S'il est de langue anglaise, il verra moins l'utilité pour ses enfants d'apprendre le français.

Ses temps libres lui permettent à s'occuper d'activités communautaires. On ne s'attend certainement pas à ce qu'il participe à des mouvements idéologiques de gauche.

Rares, sinon inexistantes, dans nos sujets sont les socialistes, les indépendantistes québécois ou les avocats de la laïcisation des écoles ou des services sociaux. On s'intéresse plutôt à des œuvres comme la Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (si on est francophone) ou à des mouvements comme les Scouts (si on est ou francophone ou anglophone). Parfois, il est membre d'une Chambre de Commerce dans la banlieu où il a acheté sa maison.

S'il n'a pas de diplôme universitaire, il peut se sentir complexé dans son travail. Ceci se produit soit quand il sent lui-même qu'il lui manque de compétence soit quand il constate qu'il n'obtient pas des promotions assez souvent. Mais ayant des responsabilités familiales, il lui est presque impossible de retourner aux études à plein temps. Il est contraint de se contenter de quelques cours suivis le soir qui mènent rarement à des certificats d'études, et presque jamais à des diplômes.

Il préférera suivre des cours à McGill ou à Sir George, plutôt qu'à l'Université de Montréal. Il s'agira de cours en administration ou encore des cours d'une nature technique concernant directement son travail.

Très rarement, un homme ambitieux pourra quitter complètement son travail pour un certain nombre d'années afin de suivre un cours d'ingénieur. Cet homme, s'il revient à la compagnie, au bout de ce temps, aura la satisfaction d'obtenir un emploi supérieur à celui qu'il occupait avant sa formation d'ingénieur.

On peut également rencontrer le cas de celui qui occupe un poste de peu d'envergure comme technicien. Insatisfait de son travail, d'une part, et d'autre part, incapable de monter dans la hiérarchie, il cherchera une autre orientation par le truchement des études. Il pourra suivre des cours du soir jusqu'à ce qu'il obtienne son B.A. Ensuite, il pourra quitter la compagnie et entrer dans une faculté universitaire dans le but d'une formation professionnelle. Cette décision de retourner aux études à plein temps entraîne des difficultés familiales et financières qu'il est facile d'imager.

Mais il s'agit là semble-t-il, d'une très rare exception. L'employé moyen serait beaucoup moins audacieux, il ajusterait ses ambitions aux possibilités qui lui sont offertes dans la compagnie.

En somme, l'employé moyen manifeste une ambition assez modeste. Il a compris le système et il fonctionne bien dedans. Il favorise l'ordre établi, aussi bien dans la compagnie que dans la société. Il a une très faible conscience sociale, d'ailleurs. Il est un "company man", un "bon petit mouton".

— S'il est de langue anglaise, il acceptera, bon gré mal gré, la nouvelle politique de la compagnie voulant accorder une plus grande place à l'élément français à la compagnie. Il cherchera alors à apprendre quelques mots de français. S'il est de langue française, il parlera presque exclusivement l'anglais à son travail, trouvant que "c'est plus commode". ainsi. Mais les deux éléments ethniques sont d'avis que le vent souffle à l'avantage des Canadiens français dans la compagnie.

Quatre employés

Nous avons rencontré des interviewés de langue anglaise, d'autres de langue française. Dans chacune des deux catégories, nous pouvons discerner deux types d'hommes: ceux qui ont commencé à travailler vers l'âge de vingt-trois — vingt-quatre ans et qui avaient un diplôme universitaire; et ceux qui ont commencé à travailler vers dix-sept ans et qui ont été à même de prendre conscience qu'il leur fallait continuer à se perfectionner. Dans ce dernier cas, on voit souvent des employés qui suivent des cours du soir ou, même, qui retournent aux études à plein temps, soit pour revenir à la compagnie avec un meilleur poste, soit pour quitter la compagnie définitivement et prendre une nouvelle orientation.

Voici donc quatre profils d'employés de cette compagnie que j'ai tracé à l'aide des interviews que nous avons menées:

1. Léger

Cet homme vient d'une famille qui, malgré ses faibles moyens, a réussi à payer ses études classiques et un cours universitaire. Il était le premier d'une famille de cinq enfants. Il a fréquenté l'école publique puis a fait son cours classique au collège Sainte-Marie.

Après avoir obtenu son B.A., il s'est inscrit aux Hautes Etudes Commerciales où il a passé trois ans. A vingt-trois ans, il était licencié. Il se maria et commença à travailler à notre compagnie. En l'espace de quatre ans, sa femme a eu trois enfants. Il a déjà fait partie de la Chambre de Commerce des Jeunes, mais il dit ne pas avoir aimé cela.

2. Martineau

Martineau a eu moins de chance que Léger dans la vie. Il n'avait pas terminé ses études lorsqu'il s'est marié. Pendant six ans, il a suivi des cours du soir devant le conduire au baccalauréat ès arts, alors qu'il travaillait à notre compagnie le jour comme technicien. Il a obtenu l'été dernier son B.A. et a décidé de laisser la compagnie pour entreprendre une licence en histoire à l'Université de Montréal. Il est quelque peu amer de son expérience. "J'en ai jusque là des Anglais, dit-il. La classe moyenne anglaise ne m'intéresse plus."

Il n'était pas intégré à la compagnie; on peut le voir par les remarques suivantes: "Mes années dans cette compagnie ne sont pas des années heureuses. Je m'efforcerai de les oublier. Je me suis fait quelques amis au travail qui, eux aussi d'ailleurs, ont laissé la compagnie. Ce fut pour moi un apprentissage dans la vie, mais assez rude." Et il ajoute: "A la compagnie on m'a toujours considéré comme un original. Je ne joue pas au golf, je ne m'intéresse pas au hockey, comme le font les autres employés. Tout ce que la compagnie pourra dire, c'est que j'ai "the wrong attitude". Ils sont offensés, parce que j'entre travailler le matin avec 'Le Devoir'."

Il prétend que la compagnie perd beaucoup de ses hommes. "Elle perd 50% de ses nouveaux employés en dedans d'un an. Entre sept et quinze

années de service, elle perd environ 15% par année de l'effectif (dans le département de la technique). Beaucoup de techniciens émigrent aux Etats-Unis ou dans l'ouest du Canada, parce qu'on y est mieux payé."*

3. Brown

Cet anglophone a commencé à apprendre le français en jouant avec des enfants canadiens-français dans la rue lorsqu'il était jeune. A dix-huit ans, il a fréquenté le Collège Militaire Royal où les cours sont donnés dans les deux langues. C'est à cette institution qu'il s'est préparé à devenir ingénieur. Il est entré à la compagnie en 1964. En 1965, il a épousé une Canadienne française. Il demeure maintenant à Saint-Léonard-de-Port-Maurice. Ses voisins sont surtout de langue anglaise, mais il parle le français à la maison et un peu de français à son travail. Il ne s'occupe pas d'activités communautaires et n'a pas encore d'enfant.

4. Hamilton

Son père était un travailleur manuel aux chemins de fer en Angleterre. En 1941, il a interrompu ses études au "high school" à cause de la guerre, mais il a commencé à suivre des cours du soir, tout en travaillant le jour à Cambridge pour une compagnie semblable à la nôtre. Après la guerre, il a commencé à suivre des cours en "electrical engineering" par correspondance. En plus de son travail et de ses cours, il trouvait de temps pour jouer au "rugger". Il se marie en 1952 et émigre avec sa femme au Canada en 1954. Il est engagé par notre compagnie. En 1957, il recommence à suivre des cours du soir: cette fois en "Business Administration" à McGill. En 1965, il est promu au quatrième niveau, et gagne \$1,220 par mois en tant que "general engineer - systems planning". On retrouve donc chez Hamilton un homme chez qui s'est opérée une très forte mobilité sociale.

* Il ne faut pas prendre au sérieux ces chiffres sur le "turn-over". Ils expriment un sentiment plutôt que des faits.

M. Lamontagne has summarized and analyzed very well indeed the pertinent points in the interviews of the employees of the utility company.

While some of these men are engineers, none is in that most prestigious kind of engineering, the inventing and designing of new technical devices. They are rather installers and maintainers, albeit of very complicated equipment. Some who are engineers are taking courses in business administration. One of the very common careers of our time is that in which a man starts as an engineer but attains success by becoming an administrator. Engineering, as a profession applying physical sciences to problems of production and service, is generally practised in an organization. Unless our engineer is very gifted as an engineer, he is likely to get ahead by taking on managerial functions. The most ambitious man among those we interviewed from this company is probably the best-trained engineer, but he is studying business administration.

The orientation of these men and women, however, seems to be rather toward the company than toward any profession as such. When they think of moving, it is of moving within the company, either to some other town or to some other position or rank. This is a common type of career in our society, most frequent in what one may call -- as did Sydney and Beatrice Webb long ago -- the 'civil service' of modern industry. They are the 'career' people of modern industry, in the sense of the sociologist Karl Mannheim; he said career, in the strict sense, refers to situations in which, at each step in his work-life, a man received a neat package of prestige, power and salary whose contents he knows in advance.

Our subjects seem to have internalized this way of living and working rather completely. One disaffected man decidedly has not; since we interviewed only people who are still employed and who seem to expect to continue to be, we have no way of knowing how many do not accept this style of career, i.e. company

oriented with moderate drive for further study and promotion, and with moderate willingness to be moved about. This is a bias of many studies of industry; the survivors alone are studied.

We did not seek turn-over figures from the company. There is no reason whatever to believe that they are even moderately high; they are probably unusually low.

The general mood is to accept company policies, including the present one of pushing the employment of French-speaking people, and encouragement of use of French within the organization. If there is a language revolution, as in the industry of production and distribution of electrical power in the province, perhaps it will come from outside by some political movement.

CHAPTER IIICAREERS IN A LIGHT INDUSTRY

Our second lot of interviewees are employees of a nationwide company, with headquarters in Montreal, engaged in processing light manufacture and distribution of a widely used product. Its headquarters and main factories are in Montreal. A great many of its people work in Ontario and many in other provinces. The organization shows, but in somewhat less degree than our utility, strongly bureaucratic characteristics. From time to time, it has acquired smaller plants previously owned by small companies; in at least one case, such a plant was owned and operated in a Quebec town with a French Canadian labor force and with a very conservative, rather dictatorial management. Like the utility company, it moves its people about from place to place; moving may be the price of promotion. Its great center of operation, including higher management and manufacture, is Montreal. As in the case of the utility company, the report is that done by M. Lamontagne.

Nous avons fait, avec des employées de cette industrie, 23 entrevues, dont 22 sont analysées. Dans le choix de notre échantillon, il avait été indiqué de ne rencontrer que des employés plus ou moins "on the move", i.e., des employés qui ne sont pas "stagnants" dans la compagnie. Comme montre notre tableau sommaire, ils sont assez jeunes. La moyenne d'âge est vingt-neuf pour vingt hommes; vingt-cinq pour trois femmes. Le plus âgé a 36 ans; le plus jeune, 20 ans. Dix-huit sont mariés; la moyenne d'enfants dans ces jeunes ménages est 1,3. Nous avons à faire à des jeunes gens qui ont travaillé aussi longtemps pour être finalement plus ou moins établis dans leur carrière. Toutes les enquêtes sur les carrières prouvent que la grande majorité des gens qui travaillent ne trouvent de métier et d'emploi stable qu'après plusieurs années de positions différentes.

D'où viennent ces personnes?:

Les interviewés proviennent de la classe inférieure ou moyenne. Neuf d'entre eux sont nés d'un père col bleu (e.g. machiniste, journalier, laitier). Neuf autres ont un père col blanc (e.g. voyageur de commerce, fonctionnaire des postes, instituteur). Trois des interviewés ont perdu leur père alors qu'ils étaient en bas age.

En moyenne, les interviewés ont complété quinze années d'études à plein temps dans diverses institutions, y compris l'école primaire. Ils ont suivi, en moyenne, deux années de cours à temps partiel, le soir, surtout à Sir George Williams et McGill. Ils ont passé en moyenne huit années et demie à plein temps dans le monde du travail. Un seul des interviewés a travaillé à temps partiel alors qu'il était aux études: il a mené ce genre de vie pendant trois ans, en vue d'obtenir son diplôme de comptable agréé.

Ils n'ont pas tous le même degré d'instruction, ni la même spécialisation. Dix d'entre eux sont des diplômés d'université. Six suivent des cours du soir actuellement. Un est inscrit aux cours de langue française donnés par la compagnie. Enfin, il y en a un qui ne suit pas de cours d'une façon formelle, mais qui est obligé, de par son travail, de se renseigner constamment sur son métier. Il s'agit du chef de la section de la programmation qui a à diriger un service de machines électroniques.

La langue parlée au travail:

La langue de travail dans la compagnie à Montréal est l'anglais. Les employés de langue française qui s'adressent à un Anglais doivent le faire dans la langue anglaise. Cependant, il peut se produire que deux Canadiens français s'adressent la parole en français. Par ailleurs, la compagnie a commencé à mettre à exécution une politique de bilinguisme pour tous ses employés. A cet effet, la compagnie a élaboré un plan de stages de trois mois de cours de langue française.

Successivement, des groupes d'employés anglophones s'absentent de leur travail trois ou quatre heures par jour pendant trois mois pour un stage d'apprentissage de la langue française. Pendant ce temps, la compagnie leur paye un plein salaire. L'employé bilingue semble occuper à la compagnie, à l'heure actuelle, une place privilégiée. On en tient compte dans les promotions, nous a-t-on dit.

Face au nationalisme: "à cheval sur la clôture":

Nous avons trouvé que les interviewés s'intéressent peu à la politique. Cependant, les répondants ont tous une opinion sur le séparatisme québécois. Tous ceux que nous avons interviewés disent qu'ils sont "contre les bombes et le séparatisme", bien qu'ils reconnaissent les problèmes du Québec à l'intérieur du Canada. En général, les répondants considèrent que le bilinguisme constitue une richesse culturelle pour l'individu. A leur avis, tous les Canadiens devraient être bilingues, et il faudrait penser en termes de Canadien plutôt que Français et Anglais.

Activités communautaires:

La moitié des interviewés disent ne participer à aucune activité sociale ou communautaire. Quatre font partie d'associations professionnelles. Trois disent s'occuper d'une association civique ou paroissiale. Trois autres font du sport pendant leurs temps libres. Un seul dit qu'il fait partie d'un mouvement politique (il s'agit de la Federation of World Governments). Mais on remarque que cet homme est marginal par rapport aux autres: il suit des cours du soir à McGill en vue d'obtenir un B.A. Il projette de laisser son emploi à la compagnie bientôt pour se réorienter dans une autre carrière.

Leur expérience linguistique:

Seize de nos interviewés ont pour langue maternelle le français. Cinq autres sont anglophones. Il y en a un, enfin, qui est d'origine allemande, qui a déjà parlé le français couramment, mais qui a finalement adopté l'anglais, apparemment à cause de son milieu de travail. A l'heure actuelle,

quatorze des interviewés parlent et le français et l'anglais. Six autres parlent surtout ou uniquement l'anglais. Deux parlent surtout le français.

L'expérience linguistique des Français diffère de celle des Anglais. Tandis que les premiers ont eu souvent des contacts avec un milieu anglais à l'école et surtout au travail, les anglophones ont vécu presque exclusivement dans un monde anglais à l'école et au travail. Aucun anglophone n'a même vécu dans un milieu bilingue à l'école ou au travail.

Les cours suivis et l'avancement professionnel:

Huit des interviewés suivent actuellement des cours du soir à temps partiel. Trois suivent des cours en français. Quatre suivent des cours en anglais. Un dernier suit des cours donnés dans les deux langues. Il faut remarquer ici le phénomène des individus qui suivent des cours du soir pour améliorer leur condition. Dans un certain nombre de cas, les cours favoriseront l'avancement de l'individu dans la compagnie. Ainsi, par exemple, l'employé anglophone qui suivra des cours de langue française aura plus de chances, semble-t-il, d'obtenir des promotions dans la compagnie. Dans d'autres cas, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une question linguistique, mais aussi d'une question technique. En effet, il peut s'agir d'un employé qui suit des cours en sciences le soir afin de perfectionner ses connaissances techniques dans le domaine de son travail. Un autre cas, peut-être plus rare celui-là, est celui de l'employé qui n'aime pas son travail à la compagnie. Cet employé s'arrange pour suivre des cours du soir, mais des cours qui ont très peu ou pas du tout de rapport avec son travail. Il peut s'agir de cours menant au baccalauréat ès arts. L'employé attendra le jour où enfin il pourra quitter la compagnie pour poursuivre ses études dans un domaine étranger à son travail. Un tel employé n'est pas un "professionnel". C'est bien parce qu'il veut le devenir qu'il songe à quitter la compagnie dans laquelle il ne jouit pas du statut auquel il aspire.

Bien qu'un certain nombre des interviewés suivent ou aient suivi des cours du soir à temps partiel, la majorité d'entre eux ne suivent pas à l'heure actuelle de cours du soir. On travaille le jour pour la compagnie; et, dans la plupart des cas, on ne suit pas de cours à temps partiel. Cependant, nous avons remarqué deux cas où les individus sont retournés aux études après avoir travaillé pendant quelques années. Le premier cas est celui d'un employé qui a été engagé comme commis. Au bout de deux ans, cet employé a quitté complètement la compagnie pour suivre un cours en Commerce (à Sir George Williams). Trois ans plus tard, une fois son cours terminé, l'individu revenait à la compagnie, cette fois pour y travailler comme methods analyst. L'autre cas est celui d'un bachelier en commerce qui a travaillé pendant trois ans pour différentes compagnies. Au bout de ce temps, il s'inscrivit à nouveau à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, afin de devenir comptable agréé. Après trois années d'études, la personne a été engagée par notre compagnie comme comptable agréé.

Puisque l'instruction peut être un moyen de mobilité sociale et professionnelle, on peut se demander pourquoi un individu ne s'instruit pas davantage lorsqu'il ne possède pas tous les diplômes requis pour son avancement. Il serait intéressant d'examiner les caractéristiques des individus qui ont réalisé peu de mobilité dans l'entreprise depuis quelques années. Tous ceux que nous avons rencontré connaissent un certain succès dans la compagnie. On ne peut guère s'attendre à trouver chez-eux des frustrations profondes dans leur travail - en tout cas moins que chez ceux qui obtiennent peu de promotions. Les interviewés n'ont pas manifesté de mécontentement, encore moins d'agressivité envers la compagnie et envers la vie en général. Il ne faillait pas s'y attendre, d'ailleurs, puisqu'ils connaissent tous un certain succès dans leur travail à la compagnie.

With a couple of exceptions, the young men and women whom we interviewed in this industry, are not driven strongly by ambition. They are ambitious, but one gets the impression that they will be content in the middle, rather than to struggle toward the top. It is at the middle that one finds room in modern light industry and distributing companies such as this. Furthermore, these are not the young men who, as college seniors, were interviewed by representatives of the company, and hired as trainees for middle and higher management. These are the 'common man' young people of their generation; they have had secondary school and some higher education. Few went straight from school to college and a degree, and then to work. There has been some interruption of school; or perhaps some return to school after they thought they had finished. In this they are indeed representative of a huge class of younger people in the work force of western industrial countries. There is no room at the bottom. There is room in the middle only if one has secondary schooling and is willing to return to school to keep up with changes in technique and organization.

So far as we can tell from these few, but long and free interviews, the basic situation of the French-speaking employees is not much different from that of the English. The policy of the company appears to be to correct for whatever discrimination there may have been against French-speaking employees in the past. It is harder for the English to get a workable knowledge of French, than for French to get workable knowledge of English. This makes for a kind of equivalence in the chances of people of these lower ranks of supervision and white-collar work. We may assume that but a few will really go to the top, and that they will be people of energy and drive; language will be something that such people will take in their stride. People who are determined to do it, can learn a language. It is only in countries where no one really has to learn a second language that people speak of linguistic aptitude. What appears to be happening in our company is a general change of atmosphere towards use of French. If, as I suspect, everyone who aspires to even a moderate degree of promotion in this company has to learn French, no matter what his mother tongue, promotions will depend upon acquisition of other skills and qualities as well. Among our sample in this

company, the skills being acquired in further schooling are mostly social, -- organizational -- skills. Language itself is perhaps one of them. Only two of our interviewees have really gone back to school to learn a technical skill -- systems analysis and accounting. This is very much in keeping with trends in modern organizations; the truly technically trained are few compared with those who learn the social skills. In many industries there are programmes of in-service training, or arrangements whereby employees may attend courses on company time or with some form of aid or encouragement by the employer. Many of the courses have to do with use of language (one's own language), and with human relations and organization. Except for the matter of mother tongue, the French and English in our sample from this company seem about in the same boat. In order to get ahead they require further training in the art of language, as used in industry and with customers and colleagues outside. The skill is the same whether the language is French or English. The odds in Montreal will probably be with the person who can practice the arts of organizational language in two tongues, French and English.

It should be emphasized that the kinds of people we interviewed in the utility company and in this one are a major and increasing part of the labor force. It may be that in the future such positions will be filled by people who got through to some sort of university degree or diploma before going to work. At present, they are filled by people who start to work earlier than that and who move up a few notches by dint of extra schooling. They fill the classes of universities that have late afternoon and night schools. In Quebec, the revolution in the labor force which creates the demand for these rather bureaucratically, moderately ambitious people coincides -- although I do not believe it is mere coincidence -- with the demand of French-speaking people for a better place in industry and business. In organizations which have places for many people of this kind, it should be moderately easy to combine general training for advancement with training in languages.

So far as we can tell from our small samples in these two companies, the younger 'on the move' employees make their adjustment fairly easily. In both companies, however, we found in our list one person who was using his employment as a way of moving on to a more general higher education and some other line of work; that, too is part of the process.

CHAPTER IV

NURSING

Nursing is of special interest in a study of the relations between two cultures, because it is a profession which, although it fills a universal need and rests in part on sciences which are universal, strongly reflects differences of cultures. On the continent of Europe, and even in England, the nurse is generally called 'sister;' it is a term which expresses a philosophy of devotion, of sacrifice and of respectful submission to authority. In the Catholic countries nursing is still largely a specialty of the Catholic orders; in countries mixed as to religion, there are many hospitals which are owned by Catholic orders of sisters, and which are staffed by nuns who are trained nurses but patronized by Protestants as well as Catholics. In the past, most schools of nursing have been run in and by hospitals; in the case of Catholic hospitals the teachers have usually been nuns.

Until recently such schools of nursing, known as Diploma or as Hospital schools, were an economic asset to the hospital. The nurses in training paid little tuition, but they contributed menial labor in their earlier terms, and nursing services as they approached graduation. They were under a discipline very like that of a nunnery. Most hospitals with schools had few salaried already registered nurses. The lay registered nurse often married early; in any case, there were few salaried staff jobs for her in the hospitals. A large proportion of trained nurses were out of the profession within a year or so after finishing their course. Only the nuns and handful of spinsters remained in the hospitals, as administrators, supervisors, teachers, and special aids in the operating room and in wards where serious cases were handled.

This order of things began to change in the United States about the time of the first world war; the change was greatly accelerated at the time of the second war. Young women would not work so long for nothing. The hospitals had to begin to hire staff nurses. Physicians began to delegate the taking of blood pressure, the giving

of medicines and many other tasks to nurses. As diagnosing and treatment required more and more routine procedures, the physicians freed themselves of them by delegation to the nurse. The nurse, now a scarce good and getting more expensive, delegated the carrying of trays and bed-pans to aides and practicals. Other tasks were turned over to new paramedical professions: physiotherapists, laboratory technicians, medical social workers, medical librarians and record-keepers, hospital administrators. As the team grew and included a greater variety of people, the costs became greater. With hospital insurance, physicians were able to do more and more of their practice in hospitals where these other members of the team, including physicians of other specialties, were available. They find their patients lined up and ready for them to look at. The organizational and financial problems accompanying this revolution in medical practice are still not all worked out; but they are unavoidable problems of all industrial urban civilizations which also inevitably demand higher medical standards of living than the world has ever known.... One of the problems has been the movement among nurses for a 'professionalizing' of their occupation; as in other cases in North America this has meant the developing of longer courses of training, including a good deal of academic work, and eventually university degrees, more autonomy, more respect and more salary. It also means a closer definition of their work, and an attempt to delegate to 'non-professionals' those parts of their work which do not fit their definition of what professional nursing should be. As this movement proceeded, there arose a new career in nursing; the career of the nursing educator. True to North American trends and philosophy, the nursing educator had to have an advanced academic degree. There are now collegiate schools of nursing in which young women earn professional qualification (R.N.) and a degree (Bachelor of Nursing, Bachelor of Science in Nursing, etc.)

There are graduate schools of nursing which give higher degrees to people who mean to practice some specialty (psychiatric nursing, etc.), to teach, to become administrators or to enter research or government service.

I have dwelt on this at length because it is one of the more striking cases of change of an occupation along with change in the structure, of a professional complex, that of medicine. It is a change which has touched many institutions. It has brought strains still evident in the country where the change has gone furthest, the United States. McGill University has been involved in this process for more than thirty years; public health nurses came to McGill for specialized training nearly forty years ago. It seems a prime case for looking at the two Quebec cultures. The French culture until lately presented in almost pure form the old set of arrangements in which the 'sister' did nursing, in all of its aspects, as part of a system of Catholic institutions. The report on nurses, written by Mrs. William Westley, follows.

NURSES IN FRENCH CANADA, 1965

Between 1950 and 1958 a number of studies of American nurses were summarized by Everett and Helen Hughes and Irwin Deutscher in Twenty Thousand Nurses Tell Their Story.⁽¹⁾ They found the chain of relationship between the practice of medicine and the practice of nursing to be somewhat as follows: "Medicine in our time is devoted to improvement, hence to change, of its underlying knowledge and its techniques."
(p.4) At the same time more and more people are demanding better medical services. To meet these demands, both from within and without his profession, the physician must pass on many of his tasks and some of his authority to the nurse or to one of the paramedical specialists. A study of nursing was therefore seen as a good way to study the changes taking place in the medical world as a whole. In a rapidly changing society such as Quebec, bent on technical, economic and social progress, one may expect that changes will occur in the medical

1. Op. cit., Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott, 1958, pp. 280.

profession in general, and that this will include the practice of nursing. For this reason, and in the interest of comparing what is happening in Quebec to the nursing profession in the 1960s with what was happening to it in the last several decades in the United States, we undertook to interview a group of nurses, whose names were furnished by the McGill University, Graduate School of Nurses, one of the early English-Canadian institutions of this kind, and by the Institut Marguerite d'Youville, a graduate school of nursing run by the Grey Nuns and affiliated with the Université de Montréal.

WHO ARE THEY?

a. Vital Statistics.

In all, we interviewed 27 women, ranging in age from 20 to 50 years, the average age being about 32. All except 4 are natives of Quebec. Five are anglophones; twenty-two are French speaking. Thirteen come from urban centers (Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, etc.) and fourteen grew up in rural areas or small towns. Five are members of religious orders. Only two of our nurses are married and two others were planning, at the time of the interview, to marry soon. All four of these were very young women in their twenties. This is a much lower average than was found in the United States for the general population of nurses. Some others in our group may marry yet, especially among those still in their twenties, but for most of the nurses we interviewed, we can assume that nursing will be their only occupation in life. It is perhaps another example of what Oswald Hall calls "selection by rejection." In any case, the fact that they have all returned for advanced nursing training indicates the seriousness with which they regard their careers.

b. Mobility.

Taking the grossest of status categories, i.e., assuming that anyone who belongs to the professional or managerial class to be in the upper ranks, that the daily or hourly laborer and service occupations represent the lower ranks, and every other occupation to be in the middle, our nurses came from the middle group for the most part (14 out of 27), while five came from professional or managerial families and 8 came from

relatively deprived backgrounds. Among them were five nurses who came from farm families. Two of the fathers were, in spite of large families, able to send their children to college or other advanced training, and were men of status in their communities, as evidenced by the fact that they sat on school boards, for example. These two I placed in the 'middle' category. Three others I placed in the 'lower' category because their style of life and the precariousness of the family position suggested that they belonged in this rank. It is rather difficult to tell, however, whether our nurses have been upwardly, downwardly mobile or stationary in terms of status, except that we can safely say that those coming from the "lower" occupational categories have been upwardly mobile. But, just as Hughes found in the United States, in Quebec the status of the nurse in general is changing as it becomes more professionalized and specialized and certainly within the profession the difference between the status of the practical nurse, say, and the director of nursing services in a large hospital (who probably has a master's degree in nursing administration) is considerable. Mobility within the profession will be discussed later.

c. Linguistic Experience.

The linguistic experience of these nurses is about what one would expect. Sixteen have worked or studied in both French and English, of which two are English speaking by origin. This is more than half of the total group, in spite of the fact that in the past, if a girl got her training in hospital school and worked in a hospital of her own language (which was the practice and still is the preference on the part of all concerned -- hospital, nurse and patient) it was possible to live with almost no contact with the other language group. But with the rise of specialization and the emphasis on academic degrees in nursing, most of these women who took such courses ten years ago would have to take them in English. There is still no Master degree in any specialty of nursing offered in French in Quebec, although the newly formed Faculté de Nursing at Université de Montréal intends to offer them. Meantime, French-Canadian nurses who are

ambitious or interested in public health or psychiatric nursing go to McGill or to the States for their training. They might also have to do a "stage" in an English-speaking hospital in certain specialities -- neuro-surgery, for example. On the other hand, this is now changing, as evidenced by the fact that of the eight women who have had no bilingual experience, four are in their twenties. They can now get as far as a B.N. in French only. And the other four unilingual Francophones are women who although older have only recently come back to school for their B.N. Of the five English-speaking nurses in our sample, three have had bi-lingual experience in their work, which suggest that there is not as much segregation of patients by language as one might expect. Whether this is a change would be interesting to know. In all three of these cases, the working with French patients (and the necessity to learn the language) has occurred during the past five years. Only two of these nurses, report any notable experience related to ethnicity, although they were asked about this. One, an English-speaking nurse, tells of a patient in an English-Canadian hospital who called during half a day for "un verre d'eau" without anyone's being able to understand what he wanted until a French-speaking doctor came in on his rounds. Another maintains that she was ousted from her job at a leading Montreal hospital because she was Roman Catholic and that, contrariwise, she was chosen by another hospital "because she had a French name."

WHY DID THEY BECOME NURSES?

Nursing was the first choice of career for 14 of our group. That is to say that no other work and no training for any other occupation proceeded it. I have included 5 nurses who took a year's course in something else while waiting to be old enough to enter the nursing course (18 years) because in all these cases the interviewees made clear that at the time nursing was what they most wanted to do. The reasons given by these 14 for becoming nurses are quite varied. Several "had wanted to be nurses since they were little girls", often "because I like to care for sick." But many of the reasons given present, when taken together, a poignant picture of the

position of women in Quebec. As one woman said:

"Quand elle a choisi la profession de nursing, elle était trop jeune et mal orientée de sorte qu'elle croyait que c'était cela qui la rendrait heureuse. Elle dit que dans son temps (This girl is now 25 years old), les jeunes étudiantes n'avaient personne pour les orienter à Québec. A Québec, les professions normales pour les jeunes filles sont: secrétaires, institutrices et infirmières... Elle trouve qu'à Québec, il n'y a pas assez de possibilités d'études et de professions pour les jeunes filles."

There are, of course, financial problems which apply to men and women alike. As one woman said "Le nursing était alors la seule profession à laquelle on (sic) pouvait avoir accès sans avoir d'argent, sans avoir à payer." But this factor often bears especially hard on the girls in a French-Canadian family:

"Si ses parents avaient eu de l'argent cela (nursing) n'aurait pas été son premier choix. Elle aurait terminé son classique et serait sans doute entrée en médecine bien qu'elle aurait pu changer d'idée. Mais il était assez inconcevable alors pour ses parents que des filles fassent le classique qui était surtout réservé aux garçons."

Another problem, probably more acute for girls than for boys in the French-Canadian family, is that of establishing independence of the family. Three young women mentioned that they went into nursing, in a sense, "to get away from home." For example,

"Elle avait été couvée chez-elle; ses parents la surveillaient toujours et elle voulait de la liberté. Pour elle, être infirmière était un peu synonyme de liberté."

Five of these women for whom nursing was first choice of career have now changed their minds. One is taking training leading to a degree in Law. Another hopes to be a psychologist and is getting her B.A. to that end. A third is interested in Learning Theory and plans to get a doctorate in the States either in psychology or in education. A fourth who has married does not really expect to continue nursing, and another plans to be married soon and to stop nursing.

It is interesting to note that all the seven women who chose nursing after trying something else first, or (in two cases) after staying at home for a period of time before deciding what career to follow, have stayed with the profession and show every sign of being content with their careers. Perhaps their decision was more mature or realistic.

Finally five nuns were interviewed. These all were primarily interested in being nuns and once in the order became nurses as their particular work, but in two cases there seems to have been a decision to enter a particular order, the Grey Nuns, because of a secondary interest in nursing.

TRAINING AND MOBILITY.

There is a strong tendency now for nurses to go directly from high school to a university course leading to a Bachelor of Nursing. I say 'tendency' because many of our interviewees regretted not having done this and the director's of both Marguerite d'Youville and McGill's Graduate School of Nursing said that this was regarded as the best training. Actually, only one of our interviewees, and she is the youngest of the lot, 20 years old, had done this. Another has gone directly from a hospital school of nursing to Marguerite d'Youville without nursing experience. All the others have gone to a hospital nursing school, nursed for a while, then have taken a university course leading to the B.N. A few (5) have gone further to take a Master's in Nursing. These women were all, at the time we interviewed them, engaged in working for a Bachelor's or a Master's degree. Furthermore, they seem to have decided that they want to advance in the profession and to have accepted the idea that advancement involves getting at least a Bachelor's degree. They may not be typical Quebec nurses in this, but since there has been considerable mobility within the profession for these women, we can assume that they are correct in their assumption and that they are probably patternsetters for other nurses.

When nurses finish their hospital nursing course, they usually go into general duty nursing in a hospital. From there, advancement may go in either of two directions. They may become head nurse, supervisor

of nurses, director of nursing, i.e., they may advance via administration, in which case they cease to practice nursing. As Hughes et al observed: "The big reputations in the nursing as in the teaching world are enjoyed by people who administer, organize and manage and see little or nothing of patients or of pupils." There are, however, nurses who do not want to leave bedside nursing and who do not like administration. For these there seems to be a kind of advancement in becoming specialized. Certainly, they can command advancement in salary and in prestige. On the other hand, as these specialties develop, they too will in all probability require that nurses either give up nursing or give up advancement. It is clear that this dilemma has been faced by several of our nurses. For example, one woman who is training herself to teach nursing (one of the specialties taught at both university schools of nursing) explained that:

"L'infirmière doit apporter une aide morale autant que physique aux malades; il faut leur parler et les écouter. C'est pourquoi elle n'aime pas les grands hôpitaux où les infirmières graduées sont enlisées dans un travail de Bureaucratie, de "paperasse", et c'est ce à quoi elle veut échapper en se consacrant à l'enseignement et en se spécialisant par des études plus poussées."

Another, who became an industrial nurse says:

"Elle trouve que les contacts humains y sont plus nombreux et qu'elle a plus de temps pour parler avec les individus ce qui n'est pas le cas, selon elle, dans le service d'hôpital où on ne peut accorder l'attention psychologique et humaine nécessaire au patient."

Some nurses choose specialties because they have a particular interest in some field; some by accident, some in order to avoid something about the ordinary course of the career or its usual tasks. To take up the last point first -- we have seen how some wish to avoid the inevitable bureaucratic paperwork involved in advancing up the ladder. Two of our public health nurses, however, chose this specialty because they did not like hospital work or found it too strenuous. A surgical nurse picked her specialty because it would almost certainly give her free week-ends. At least two are going to teach nursing as a means of sidetracking certain parts of the career proper which they find unsatisfactory.

Those who have chosen a specialty by accident, or who have taken government or hospital scholarship for advanced training at the insistence of their superiors rather than on their own initiative are sufficient in number to give a tone to the group. As one nurse in a veterans' hospital said: "...le ministère des anciens combattants encourage beaucoup les infirmières à poursuivre leurs études. Elle ne comprend pas pourquoi jusqu'à présent si peu d'infirmières ont fait la demande d'une bourse." As a matter of fact, almost all our interviewees were on a scholarship of some sort for almost all their advanced or specialty training, but in most cases they applied for the scholarships only after urging by their supervisors. In some cases, they took whatever specialty training was available under a restricted scholarship, whether they had previously been interested in this or not.

It is, of course, the same pattern which Hughes found among American nurses which led him to say, "contemporary nursing service has created many specialized fields, but to a less extent, specialized nurses. Rather, nurses tend to take jobs in any branch which satisfied their requirements as to income, location, convenient hours of work, and other considerations apart from nursing itself."

The nursing specialties represented by our group of interviewees are as follows:

TABLE I

General Duty nursing	-8
Public Health	-4
Psychiatric nursing	-3
Surgical, including neuro-	
surgical	-2
Industrial nursing	-2
Obstetrical nursing	-1
Pediatric nursing	-1
Teacher of nursing	-7
Administration	-6

This table is overlapping because some nurses have more than one specialty or may be in administration as well as a specialty. Also, this represents the situation at the time of our interviews. Actually, all

except two of our interviewees have done general duty nursing at some time, and two of them have also done private duty nursing for a period of time. We had no examples of nurses who worked in doctor's offices. I have excluded the nursing sisters, again, because they have little choice and because they are by definition, very often, in administrative positions. They will be discussed separately later.

These are the same specialties which Hughes found the nurses to be following in the United States and, indeed, it could hardly be otherwise, since the Directrices of both French-Canadian graduate nursing schools (at Institut Marguerite d'Youville and at Université de Montréal) had their graduate nurses training in the United States as, I believe, did the head of McGill's School of Nursing. Sister Lefebvre of the Institut Marguerite d'Youville stated quite frankly that in setting up the program for the B.N. and other graduate training she and her colleagues drew many ideas from the United States, as well as from the Scandinavian countries.

The problems and the direction of evolution in these specialties seems also to duplicate that found in the United States ten years ago.

Industrial nursing: "... les infirmières industrielles manquent d'appui. Elles n'avaient jusqu'ici aucune place dans la hiérarchie de la compagnie. Elles ont 'lutté' pour obtenir un statut qui leur a été accordé en janvier 1965. Elles sont aujourd'hui reconnues comme faisant partie de la '1^{ère} ligne'... Les deux médecins ne vont au bureau que deux heures par jour ce qui laisse toutes les responsabilités à Ego."

Public Health nursing: "L'infirmière en hygiène publique ... fait la liaison entre la communauté et l'hôpital. Elle fonctionne sur la famille au complet, avec les enfants, les parents."

"Les infirmières (en hygiène publique) n'ont pas de place dans la hiérarchie du ministère (de la santé). Les places qu'elles occupent sont officieuses et non officielles."

"The ideal place for a person in public health nursing to work is the United States Public Health Service ... This is 'tops' because it is progressive and has high calibre of personnel."

Surgical nursing: "L'infirmière dans une salle d'opération est une assistante du chirurgien. Pour servir très bien le médecin, il faut connaître les temps opératoires. Celui avec qui j'ai travaillé voulait même que je lui donne les instruments sans avoir besoin de me les demander. Cela faisait que le travail était très exigeant, mais aussi très intéressant. Une chose très importante est de voir à ce que le matériel reste stérile."

Psychiatric nursing: "On l'a envoyée faire un stage de six semaines à Verdun afin d'apprendre les méthodes de traitements à l'insulin et aux électro-chocs. (1944) Puis elle a appliqué ces thérapies à Ste-Anne (Veterans' Hospital). Les anciennes infirmières trouvaient qu'elle perdait son temps car, pour elles, ces malades étaient incurables." Later this nurse went to the Allen Memorial between 1944 and 1949 and there, "Elle y a été la première head nurse dans les premiers 'day treatments' en Amérique. Les Etats-Unis ont ensuite suivi ce modèle."

That in the case of psychiatric nursing Quebec, or at least Montreal, may be in advance even of the United States is not so surprising, since the Allen Memorial Institute and other teaching hospitals in psychiatry, mostly in English, mostly associated with McGill, constitute the second largest training center in this field in North America, second only to Menniger. Finally, we have:

Nursing Education: "Elle est donc entrée à Maisonneuve (hôpital) en janvier 1954. Cette année-là, le cours était très difficile et les élèves étaient choisies avec beaucoup de soin de sorte que l'âge moyen de la classe était 25 ans. C'était une nouvelle formule pour la formation des infirmières que la Directrice inaugurait. Elle avait augmenté, presque du double, le nombre d'heures des études des sciences humaines. De plus, quand c'était le temps des études, les infirmières ne travaillaient pas à l'hôpital comme cela se faisait jusqu'ici. De plus, la troisième année du cours préparait les étudiantes à prendre des postes lorsqu'elles finiraient leur cours. Ainsi, on leur faisait faire des stages comme surveillantes ou enseignantes, selon leurs aptitudes."

Whether a nurse chooses to advance through administration or by becoming a specialized nurse, there is no doubt that by continuing her education she increases her mobility, particularly if she has also had some experience. (See table II)

THE NURSING SISTERS.

In quite a number of hospitals in French Canada the charter requires that the Directrice of Nursing Services and the Directrice of various departments be members of a religious order. This has produced an unhappy situation both for lay and religious nurses, particularly during the last few years when some lay nurses felt they were more experienced and better trained than their supervisors. It has meant, too, that the ceiling for the advancement of an ambitious nurse in French Quebec has been at least one echelon lower than in the rest of North America, since here as elsewhere, the very top positions of authority are held by men, either doctors or hospital administrators, or both. It is worth mentioning once again that this frustration to advancement and control had nothing to do with "English domination" but was an indigenous, self-inflicted injustice. That the situation is painful to the lay nurses is amply substantiated in our interviews:

"Dans les départements, les hospitalières qui étaient des religieuses manquaient souvent de compétence et le sujet a plus tard appris qu'elles n'étaient souvent que des étudiantes comme elle mais qu'elles occupaient des postes à titre de religieuses. Il en résultait que les étudiantes devaient trouver des solutions par elles-mêmes car les autres n'en connaissaient pas plus qu'elles. Quand elles demandaient un renseignement, les hospitalières ne pouvaient répondre et on blâmait ensuite les étudiantes pour les erreurs commises."

Another, a psychiatric nurse, fresh from a course in Catholic University in Washington and anxious to try some occupational therapy ideas in a large mental hospital where she worked, organized a dance program performed by the inmates whom she had taught modern dance as a form of therapy. This event was also supported by the city of Montreal and various business organizations. This, however, was the last such function:

"Après cela, les religieuses ne voulaient plus de tout ce tralala. Elles trouvaient cela sans doute trop fatigant. Toutes ces activités ont donc décliné. Ainsi, on remerciait l'équipe de folklore, équipe bénévole, sans qu'elle n'en sache rien. Elle a dû remettre sa démission car il n'y avait plus de possibilités de travailler pour elle."

That this is also an uncomfortable situation for many of the nursing sisters is demonstrated in our interviews with them:

"Alors qu'elle venait à peine de terminer son cours d'infirmière on lui a donné le poste de supervisor en médecine. Elle n'avait pas l'expérience pour faire ce travail et c'était très dur pour elle. Mais elle était bien acceptée malgré tout par les infirmières qui avaient beaucoup plus d'expérience qu'elle."

This girl was after a year named Night Supervisor. Her health broke down. After a rest, she was made supervisor of surgery, then supervisor in obstetrics, and at each stage she was forced to stop for awhile because of excessive fatigue. She explains this:

"Son rôle de surveillante consistait à faire la coordination entre le personnel et les autres départements de l'hôpital. Il faut aussi être le support moral des infirmières. C'est une tâche dure parce qu'on a la responsabilité de tout le département et qu'on est toujours sur le qui-vive... Il faut toujours essayer de se maîtriser pour avoir de bonnes relations humaines. Cela créait chez Ego une grande tension parce qu'elle n'y avait pas été préparée du tout et qu'elle était trop jeune et sans expérience."

It is important, too, to remember that for all the five nuns we interviewed, nursing was a secondary choice. First and foremost, they wanted to be members of a religious order, and their choice of a particular order was nearly always dictated by some personal positive experience with this order, or the advice of respected relatives or friends who were members. After that, all aspects of a sister's nursing career are, as one said, "entre les mains de ses supérieures."

The conflict between the career of nun and the career of nurse, which will be faced by any sister who becomes seriously interested in nursing is well expressed:

"Elle trouve que c'est là la grande lacune qu'entraîne le fait d'être religieuse. Il y a vraiment là une opposition avec une carrière d'infirmière. Elle n'a pas le choix de sa propre carrière. Elle souffre de ne pas savoir au juste ce qu'elle fera dans l'avenir. Elle craint de ne pas pouvoir se spécialiser comme elle le voudrait. On va la placer dans l'administration et la changer souvent de poste. Or, elle aurait aimé se spécialiser, et de plus elle n'aime pas changer de poste."

It is, however, equally evident that this is changing, since among our interviewees we have 8 in administration all of whom are lay nurses and only two are English speaking. It was also mentioned by several, and is moreover, common knowledge that the sisters are being replaced by lay nurses.

RELATIONS BETWEEN DOCTORS AND NURSES

We did not get a great many comments about the relationship of the nurse to the doctor in our interviews. The relationship of nurse to supervisor (religieuse) which is the one bearing most directly on most of our group seems to have preempted a good bit of the hostility and resentment which sometimes is expressed by nurses who feel that they have too much responsibility and too little authority. One English-speaking nurse, however, who does not have the problem of religious supervisors said that she feels often she knows better than the doctor what her patient needs, because she is with the patient all the time. However, she often has not the authority to do what she thinks ought to be done, nor the capacity to persuade the doctor to do it. Perhaps the clearest description of the working relationship between nurse and doctor as seen by one who accepts the doctor's authority and has confidence in his skill was given by a surgical nurse:

"En dehors d'une salle d'opération (the relationship within the operating room was described by this nurse on page 11 above) nous sommes supposées faire ce que dit le médecin. Par exemple, au point de vue narcotiques, nous sommes supposées suivre de très près le dossier. Pour certains barbituriques, nous pouvons parfois décider. L'infirmière en charge peut parfois décider de l'emploi de l'oxygène. En somme, ce que l'infirmière peut faire à la maison, elle peut le faire à l'hôpital. Mais de là à prendre des décisions sérieuses, au point de vue conditions pathologiques, il y a une marge. Dans ce dernier cas, les infirmières qui prennent la décision le font à leurs propres risques."

On the other hand, this classical relationship, which perhaps will endure longer in the operating room with its life and death struggle and necessity for instant decision than in any other area of encounter, is perhaps also changing. Hughes predicted that in the United States doctors

would find it necessary to give over more and more of their responsibilities and authority to nurses in order to get their own work done, and that this would change their working relationship. One of our nursing sisters believes:

"On tend vers une plus grande autonomie de l'infirmière. L'infirmière est de plus en plus indépendante vis-à-vis des médecins. La docilité de l'infirmière en face du médecin tend à disparaître. Alors qu'autrefois le médecin pouvait profiter de l'infériorité de l'infirmière, les deux professions fonctionnent de plus en plus en parallèle."

CONCLUSIONS

In general, the findings of our small survey of graduate nurses in Quebec in 1965 suggest that, except for the control of many administrative posts by the religious orders, the career of nursing here is undergoing the same changes and is headed in the same direction as was the case in the United States some years ago.

In some respects, it is possible that Québec may move ahead of other parts of the continent. The break with tradition is perhaps more abrupt. There has been less time to adjust to a middle level. Certain middle level professions have in Quebec become militant and have struck against their employing organizations. There has been some militancy in the hospitals. University librarians have gone on strike. These are the very new professions that are in their style of training and in their place in universities and in the organizations where they work so definitely following American rather than European patterns. In their style of collective action, however, they show the same militancy as do certain bureaucratic groups in France. Only lately, in New York and on the west coast, have nurses shown militancy as a way of bettering their lot in hospitals.

Quebec nurses, librarians, physiotherapists, even teachers, are following North American models in their professional aspirations. They are thus part of the 'great professional' trend in the labor force. But they may also be ahead of the North American trend in moving toward militant organization. Occupations seeking professional (in the meaning

given the term in the English language) status have generally not gone in for action of the 'labor union' sort. There is much evidence that in the future they will do so. It is in this trend that Québec may lead the way: it is the way, perhaps, of the new group consciousness of their bureaucratic condition.

One should also note that the story of the nursing profession is also the story of the great state and the great urban universities in North America. In Europe the universities and the technical schools (engineering schools) are still kept separate from each other. Medicine, law, pharmacy and business are the only practical subjects taught in university faculties. All the other trades and specialties are taught in vocational schools unattached to the universities. In North America these "professionalized" older occupations or new ones have found their way into the universities. It is clear that this is to be the way in Quebec, as in the rest of Canada.

Biculturalism and bilingualism will probably remain strong realities in care of the sick and in other professional services; bi-technicalism is already fast disappearing, and especially so in the realm of the newer auxiliary professions found in nearly all the great service systems (medicine, law, education, communication, social services, etc.)

TOTAL : 22 TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE (exclusive of Sisters - Religieuses)

AGE GROUP	HOSPITAL COURSE LEADING TO R.N.	NURSING EXPERIENCE ²	UNIVERSITY COURSE LEADING TO B.N.	M.N. SPECIALTY DIPLOMAS	ADMINISTRATION ³		PRACTICING NURSING SPECIALTY ⁴	MOBILITY ¹
					ADMINISTRATION	PRACTICING NURSING SPECIALTY		
20-30 years	7 directly from high school to hospital course ⁵ 1 directly to B.N.; no R.N., no experience.	6 had nursing experience (1-3 years)	8	1	2	-	1 teacher	
Total: 8								
30-40 years	6 directly from high school to nursing school. 3 did something else first; nursing was 2nd choice.	9 had nursing experience (5-15 years)	9	3	7	6	4 teachers 6 other specialties	
Total: 9								
40-50 years	1 directly from high school to nursing school. 4 did something else first.	5 had nursing experience (5-20 years)	5	1	3	2	1 teacher 3 other	
Total: 5								

¹The figures on mobility for each age group may not add up to the same number as the total nurses because sometimes the same woman may be a supervisor and have a specialty. E.g., a supervisor of the psychiatric nurses in a hospital.

²These years of nursing experience are total, but, except in the case of women with master's degrees, they have mostly occurred between the R.N. and the B.N.

³Administration includes anyone from a head nurse upwards to the Director of Nursing Services.

⁴For listing of nursing specialties, see TABLE I of this chapter.

⁵Includes those who may have spent a year doing something else if they specifically said that it was only while waiting to be old enough to enter a nursing school, i.e., eighteen years old.

CHAPTER VTHE PHYSICIANS

We interviewed a handful of physicians who are just finishing their year of internship in Montreal hospitals. Our aim was merely to get some notion of how they see their future careers. Studies of medical students on this continent show that the choice of medicine itself as one's future profession is but the first of a series of career-choices; of specialty, of scientific and academic as against practice outside universities and teaching hospitals, of place of practice, and so on. Our few interviews show young French-Canadian physicians as much in quandry about their careers as those elsewhere. Only one, a man who had spent some time in a seminary and who got into medical school only in his early thirties, has made a clear-cut choice of general practice in an office set up in his house. The others are all young and have pursued their studies without interruption through classical college and medical faculty. One is to do a year of neurology with a view to psychiatry later. Another is enrolled for an M.Sc. and has a fellowship to that end, although he is torn between research and the clinic. The two young women think of learning specialties that will give them fixed hours so that, when they have children, they can continue to work without neglecting their families. This, the 'nine-to-five' solution, is very common among women physicians, who, however, sometimes manage to make it fewer hours than that.

The expectation of these young physicians is that they will have to choose a specialty; specialties require team work. They also require that the physician develops, in addition to his relations with colleagues in other specialties, with nurses and paramedicals, especially close relations with others in his own branch of medical science or in his own specialty of medical

practice. Although there is much reading of journals about the latest developments in a science or a specialty, the evidence is great that most physicians learn much of what they learn from year to year by continued communications with their specialty-colleagues, and by watching what they do.

A man in any profession develops (or fails to) his orbits of communication. Such an orbit may transcend linguistic boundaries. In Quebec, they generally transcend provincial and national boundaries; which are also linguistic boundaries. Although I have not studied a large sample of physicians, I have made inquiries among enough academic medical scientists and physicians in Quebec to be quite sure that the more specialized among them move in the larger North American orbit of scientific and professional communication. One of our interviewees noted the predominance of periodicals and books in English in the medical faculty libraries. One has only to walk through such a library to verify this.

Thus it is very likely that a Quebec French-speaking physician or medical scientist will use French with his students and his day-to-day colleagues both in his own and in other professions, while his communications in the larger world of specialty colleagues will take place in an orbit in which English is the dominant language.

Cursory inquiry points to the probability that relatively few Quebec physicians communicate solely in the French language and with others who write mainly in French. Quebec physicians are, in this respect, in the same boat as Dutch, Finnish and Scandinavian scientists and physicians; their situation is different in that they, the Quebecois, speak a world language.

My aim in dwelling on this is to note a difference between the communication problems of today and those of earlier times in the professions.

In the time when it was true that the great majority of physicians worked alone and were not required to work hard to 'keep up', the language of the physician could be determined by that of his patients. If he worked in a linguistically homogeneous region, the problem was simple.

But few physicians do work alone; few have as their base the territory close enough for a trip out and back in a buggy, or a car, within a day. (And where were the other patients when the physician sat up all night with one). An increasing number of physicians work on salary for some years, or even throughout their careers. They communicate with a variety of people daily, and more at longer intervals. The patients come not merely to an individual, but to a clinic or a hospital. Linguistic boundaries in medicine, as in other professional services, become less and less sharp.

When, then, one talks of bilingualism and biculturalism in medicine, one must talk -- and do his inquiry -- in terms of organization, orbits of movement and of communication. As in other professions based on science, there is a final orbit of movement and communication which gives science and medicine their universal but experimental and every changing quality. The problem of language and culture is to find the complex of local and particular contacts and interaction in relation to the larger and more universal. We are far from having the knowledge we should have on either the actual or the optimal patterns of uni-, bi-, or multilingualism in modern medicine. A haematologist, who makes his diagnoses from samples of blood in a laboratory, needs to know the language of no patient. The internist, who -- at his best -- listens, listens and listens, must know not merely the standard language of his patient, but his dialect and the subtler meanings of his phrases, as well as the language or languages of his colleagues. The few studies of actual interaction of

physicians with patients show they are poorer listeners and greater talkers than they think, and that they listen best to middle-class articulate people. Studies in this field must go much further than mere bilingualism and biculturalism, as those terms are usually thought of to include what are called psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies; that is, studies of the language (standard, dialects, regional variations, class variations, creoles and pidgins) actually used in the encounters of all kinds which occur in complicated modern systems (of which medicine is one of the most complicated).

CHAPTER VIPARAMEDICALS

The other paramedicals, other than nurses, whom we interviewed were those called physiothérapeutes and ergothérapeutes in French, physiotherapists and occupational therapists in English. This is a new profession still in course of finding its place in the medical system, in the university and among the known and names occupations from among which young people -- generally women in this case -- choose. As in the case of any new occupation, those who entered it first came in from other occupations which they had practiced for some time. Only later when the occupation is known and there is a clear path of training leading to it do younger people elect it. As is shown, in Mrs. Westley's report which follows, the first French women to enter this new kind of work in Montreal were nurses lured into it by a physician who was working in the field and wanted help. They were, however, nurses of middle class families; apparently women with more than average early education and perhaps with more assurance in looking about for new and interesting work. This seems to be the case of French and English alike.

But this profession shows even more clearly than nursing the problems of bringing a new profession in from another culture and language. In order to have therapists, one had to have teachers. The alternatives as in all such cases are to bring in the teachers from outside and to send out people to learn and then come back as teachers. Both methods have been used. As in nursing, those who are sent out are sent to English-speaking schools in North America; those who come in temporarily to teach are North Americans. The language of learning is, at first, English. But there is no particular difficulty in doing the teaching in French.

Such new professions are never developed in isolation. They are social movements, with much communication among the centers where the new style of work is being developed. It is not likely that the paramedicals in the French-Canadian universities will work in great isolation from their colleagues in other American universities. How

close the relations will be once the whole profession finds its place in the medical systems and in the universities, both French and English, cannot be predicted. The outcome, however, will be something crucial in the relations between the two main cultures and languages of Canada.

The fact that it is a woman's occupation may be regarded by some as evidence that women are still professionally segregated, whether by their own will or that of men. On the other hand the growth of such occupations as secular professions, allows Québec women a wider choice of well-paying and prestigious work than they have had in the past.

These points are brought out in detail in the following report:

PHYSIOTHERAPY AND OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY
Mrs. M. Westley

A career closely related to medicine and one to which a nurse may, after some additional training, wish to go is that of physio- and/or occupational therapy. It represents several things which might tempt a nurse: (1) higher salaries, since a physiotherapist usually begins at \$80 per week and can expect an increase of 5% a year; (2) a slightly higher status since physiotherapists work in teams with doctors on a mutual consultation basis and they receive patients as a result of referrals by doctors, as in medical specialties; and (3) an opportunity to work directly with patients which is generally lost in nursing as soon as a nurse begins to move up in her profession. One ex-nurse, now a physiotherapist, has described the last point as one of the strongest attractions for her:

"Elle trouvait que le rôle d'infirmière changeait depuis quelques années. Selon elle, le rôle d'infirmière devenait un travail de technicienne et de routine. On ne tient plus compte du patient en tant qu'être humain. ... le contact avec les malades ce sont maintenant les physios et non les infirmières qui le font."

Having wished always to be a bed-side nurse, but having been pushed from the beginning of her nursing practice into teaching because she had a B.N., this woman says that "C'est depuis ce temps (when she went into physiotherapy) que je suis heureuse."

WHAT IS THE WORK?

The physiotherapist works with patients, usually singly, who have been referred by other doctors for specially designed exercises, massage, and heat applied to a part or parts of the body which because of disease or injury no longer functions properly. Taking into account his particular physical problem, but concerned also for his psychological reaction to his disability, the physiotherapist prescribes and works with him in a program designed to overcome or ameliorate the disability. For example, before polio was virtually wiped out, it was the physiotherapist who helped the victims to learn to use their paralyzed limbs again. Physiotherapists may work with people who are paralyzed through brain injuries, or whose muscles have deteriorated because of bone fractures or long bed rest. One of our interviewees is very proud of the fact that in her department, "C'est le seul endroit au Canada où on traite les brûlées dans l'eau et le sel. Ils peuvent même en sauver quand ils sont brûlés au 3ème degré."

Occupational therapy is divided into two specialities: psychiatric and physical, although this is a distinction in emphasis, or perhaps in ends rather than in means. In both cases, the occupational therapist, after assessing the patient's needs, his interests and his capabilities will work with him in some area of skill, such as carpentry, art, ceramics, or dressmaking. In occupational therapy wherein the problem is largely physical, it is the skills themselves and the patient's confidence in his ability to perform them which are the primary interest of the therapist. When the patient's disability is mental, i.e., emotional, the primary interest of the therapist is to help the patient to express himself through these activities and to strengthen his ego through successful mastering of a task or a skill.

All physical and occupational therapists work in teams, which regularly go over all the cases, their progress, their problems, etc. The team consists of a psychiatrist or medical doctor, a psychologist, a social worker, an interne, and, of course, the therapist.

WHO ARE THEY?

Of the eight therapists whom we interviewed, all except one came from a background definitely middle-class and moderately successful. The fathers' occupations were: two accountants, a bank manager, a merchant, director of Sidbec, a construction contractor, a farmer (who was also a member of his local school board and whose 12 children all completed at least 12 years of school) and a shoe salesman, the latter being the only lower middle-class occupation. This man had owned his own shoe store but went bankrupt and apparently never quite made it back to his original status. For these women, then, the work they do as therapists keeps them on about the same status level as their families, except for the daughter of the shoe salesman who was upwardly mobile -- this on the assumption that the status of the therapist is middle class. Actually, the status of medicine being so high in the French-Canadian culture, being a therapist, because of its close associations with the medical world, may have higher value than the work of a merchant or a bank manager -- I don't know. In any case, it cannot be very far from the same.

They are predominantly the oldest or the youngest in quite large families. Six of the eight women come from families with more than six children. Of the total eight, four are eldest children, three are youngest, and only one is in the middle.

Our interviews include two women in their forties, both of whom were originally nurses who worked for several years before returning to school for training as therapists. These women both attended their local schools in non-metropolitan areas, through elementary school, then to an Ecole Normale. After a little time working, (although neither ever taught school) they took their nurses' training. Some years afterward, they went back to school, one to Université de Montréal, and the other to McGill for training in physiotherapy, and thence into hospitals as physiotherapists.

The six younger women, all in their twenties, all went to a 'collège classique' with the exception of one who attended an Institut Familial, but none went further than the 12th year. All

then went directly to their course in physio and occupational therapy at the Université de Montréal. After working for a while, four of them have also taken some post-graduate work, at McGill, Toronto, or London. Interestingly, none went for any part of their training to the United States.

Only one of our group is married at the moment although one or two others have plans to be married soon. There is a suggestion, however, that therapists have a notable tendency to marry and drop out of the profession, at least temporarily. One woman told us that of her class of 15 who graduated five years ago, only five are now in the profession, all the others (10) having married.

We have already remarked that physiotherapy and occupational therapy seem to draw from the nursing profession. In our interviews, two women began as nurses, both of whom are now over forty, and, so far as French Canada is concerned, they began their careers before physiotherapy had arrived. Although Toronto has had a Rehabilitation Centre since World War I and McGill since 1925, the first course in physical and occupational therapy offered in French Canada was begun, largely through the efforts of a Dr. Gingras, who organized the Ecole de Réhabilitation, in 1954, at the Université de Montréal. Dr. Gingras recruited students primarily among the nurses, and probably found response among those who for one reason or another were dissatisfied with nursing. One of these, who has since become a teacher at the Ecole de Réhabilitation, however, feels that nurses have certain characteristics which make them especially suited to be physiotherapists:

"Il (Dr. Gingras) voulait des personnes responsables et c'est pourquoi il choisissait ses candidates parmi les infirmières car il se disait que si elles s'étaient rendues jusque là, elles n'étaient pas des personnes qui quitteraient en plein milieu du cours. De plus, les infirmières avaient déjà un premier contact avec le domaine médical."

It is interesting to note, however, that none of our young interviewees have come into physiotherapy via nursing. One of these six entered physiotherapy almost by accident -- he heard a talk on the subject in grade 12 and having no other career interest in mind, he went into this one. The other five, however, were all looking for some entrée to the medical world, even before hearing of physio-

therapy. Three women really wanted to be doctors, but were unable, or felt they were unable to do this; the other two, attracted also by the world of medicine, but having perhaps more modest ambitions, were thinking of various paramedical occupations before they discovered physiotherapy.

One can detect tendencies for therapists to fall into the same categories suggested by Habenstein and Christ in their study of nurses in Missouri.¹ There are the "traditionalizers" who are concerned primarily with the direct relationship with the patient, and draw their satisfaction from seeing his improvement. There are also the "professionalizers", whose primary interests are with the scientific or medical problems involved, and with the standards and progress of the profession itself. These are, however, vaguely defined in our group, one suspects because none of them has been in the occupation long enough to have evolved completely her own orientation. Furthermore, one has the impression that all of them are still too caught up in the excitement of pioneering a new profession to be very concerned with what a "real" therapist is. The only qualification stressed by any of our interviewees was that a physiotherapist needs a strong sense of responsibility and considerable tact, because she may be asked to start a new department of physiotherapy in a hospital and will have to persuade the old guard of the efficacy of physiotherapy. There are obviously many other qualifications needed, but at this stage in the development of this new profession, these seem to be the most important ones.

DIFFICULTIES FACED BY NEW PROFESSION.

As a matter of fact, it is as a new career just getting established that physio- and occupational therapy is most interesting in French Canada. In the struggles of these women one can see all the difficulties inherent in the establishment of ~~any~~ new specialty, plus a few extra headaches arising from the bilingual setting in which this one has occurred.

1. Habenstein, R.W., and Christ, E.A. Professionalizer, Traditionalizer, and Utilizer, Columbia, Mo., Un. of Missouri, 1955.

There is in the first place, the problem of interesting young people in becoming therapists, in getting the necessary training. Dr. Gingras recruited among the nurses, trying to persuade them to take up a new interest. He assured one of these, who was interested in teaching, that "elle pourrait un jour enseigner à l'Ecole de Réhabilitation qui n'était pas encore fondée." A promise on which he delivered when the time came. Another young woman, the only psychiatric occupational therapist in a mental hospital says that:

"Au début, elle avait une grande crainte: celle de se trouver personne pour travailler avec elle... Cela lui a pris un an et demi avant de convaincre quelqu'un. Ses compagnes trouvaient cela étrange et un peu épouurant de travailler dans un hôpital mental. Elle est allée donner un cours à l'Université de Montréal... et elle a eu trois applications la semaine suivante..."

Evidently, from the reports of our young interviewees, someone now goes regularly to school graduating classes to explain the work of the physio- and occupational therapist, since as with any new occupation, most people have never heard of it, or certainly do not understand what the work entails. This is how our young women first heard of the field.

Once students are recruited, there is the problem of getting them trained. The first course set up at the Université de Montréal was taught almost entirely in English by professors who came one day a week from the Toronto Rehabilitation School. Why not from McGill we do not know. This caused real hardship to some of the prospective therapists, who were not comfortable in English, and must have discouraged some from going into the field. It is still the case that there are English-speaking professors in the Ecole de Réhabilitation, but they now do a good part of their teaching in French, and there are a number of French-speaking teachers as well as trained women in practice who can be called on for an occasional course, as

illustrated by the remarks of the young therapist in the mental hospital, quoted above. Laval opened a course in Rehabilitation and has no teachers either, with the result that some of the teachers at the Université de Montréal must go there one day a week to hold classes.

One of these women complains that there are still no teachers of physiotherapy arising in French Canada; their French-speaking teachers being presumably from other countries. This she attributes partly to "nos jeunes ne veulent plus étudier", but perhaps more realistically also to the fact that to take a course preparing them to teach they will have to go to Toronto or to McGill University and they "ne veulent pas étudier en anglais." Plans to organize and offer such a course at the Université de Montréal have so far been rejected by the University.

The problem of language followed them into their practice training. Since only the English hospitals had departments of physio- and occupational therapy, the French-Canadian students had to go there. One woman has described this:

"... les stages se faisaient tous dans des hôpitaux anglais ce qui ajoutait au désarroi des étudiantes. Il existait alors une grande rivalité entre McGill et l'Université de Montréal dans ce domaine et les dirigeantes de ces hôpitaux anglais détestaient recevoir les canadiennes françaises car cela leur compliquait l'existence: elles devaient se forcer et répéter leurs instructions qui n'étaient pas toujours comprises des françaises... S. souligne que la situation est beaucoup mieux maintenant et que même des étudiantes anglaises de McGill font des stages à Notre-Dame ce qui renverse la situation qui existait il y a environ huit ans.

Another physiotherapist, however, disputes this impression saying that "Elle a souvent rencontré (during her own training) des étudiantes de l'Université de Montréal qui faisaient aussi leur stage dans des hôpitaux anglais. Elle ne trouve pas que ces dernières avaient de la difficulté comme le suggérait sa collègue." It is not clear, therefore, to what extent the French Canadians were unwelcome in English hospitals. What is clear is that the hospitals in-training represented another language hurdle for the French-Canadian therapist which the student therapist in the rest of North America would not have to encounter.

GETTING ESTABLISHED.

Even after students have been recruited and therapists have been trained, there remains the problem of persuading hospitals, clinics, and other institutions of the benefits to be derived from these new services. As one woman put it, "Au début, on ne savait pas exactement ce qu'on faisait (in physiotherapy) et ce qu'ils pouvaient attendre de nous. Nous non plus ne savions pas ce que nous pouvions attendre d'eux."

In this adjustment, the old order is bound to be disturbed:

"Au début, quand elles sont arrivées à (mental hospital), les ergo (psychiatric occupational therapists) n'étaient acceptées qu'en tant que monitrices. A mesure qu'elles-mêmes connaissaient mieux leur position, elles étaient mieux acceptées. Au début, elles se cherchaient."

She goes on to describe the exact process by which they established themselves:

"Avant que les ergothérapeutes arrivent, c'était des moniteurs et des monitrices qui avaient leur place. Il a fallu prendre leur place peu à peu sans les renvoyer. C'est cela qui a empêché d'avancer lors de la première année. Les moniteurs ne voyaient leur travail que comme un moyen d'apprendre aux malades à se divertir et à travailler manuellement. Les ergos approchent le patient par l'objet... ce qu'il peut s'exprimer. Leur travail ne consiste pas à leur faire faire quelque chose de beau mais surtout à leur apprendre à mieux vivre et à s'exprimer par le travail."

Since physio- and occupational therapists work largely on a referral system, it is also necessary to educate the doctors. In fact, the reputation of a therapist rests not so much with what the patient thinks of her work as what the doctor thinks of it. One interviewee left a hospital, among other reasons, because "les physios n'étaient pas tellement acceptées par les médecins à cet hôpital et ils ne leur envoyoyaient que peu de patients." Another, in a mental hospital, who managed to establish herself, says that it took her only three months to have her department accepted and understood by the other departments. She "n'a pas défoncé les portes et elle a utilisé beaucoup de délicatesse car les résultats de sa pratique reposent sur le travail en équipe. Ce sont les médecins des différents départements qui lui

envoient les patients. Il y a de plus quelques patients qui sont placés en foyers 'nourriciers' et qui viennent avoir des traitements quand nécessaire." Even once accepted, as has occurred in one general hospital, wherein the department of physiotherapy has grown in four years from three physiotherapists to fifteen, plus six male nurses and a secretarial staff, the education of the doctors must go on. The directress of this department says, "on essaie de mettre dans la tête des médecins d'envoyer d'autres genres de malades afin d'étendre le champs de la physio..." "

IN THE HOSPITAL

Another problem faced by a new specialty is to relate itself in terms of authority and status to the existing establishment. This is probably still in process of being worked out in French Canada, but there are at least hints as to how it is happening. One of the occupational therapists made the following hierarchical order for the mental hospital in which she works: "1. psychiatrists, 2. psychologists, 3. social workers, 4. graduate nurses and occupational therapists, 5. ordinary nurses (presumably R.N.s without B.N.), 6. nurses aides." It is interesting that as yet the occupational therapists have not really found a level of their own, but simply share a rank once occupied exclusively by graduate nurses. It would be interesting to know whether in the United States or Ontario, where the profession is well established, the therapists are in a different position.

Our interviewees also suggest or hint at the fact that, as we might expect, the hospital table of organization describes what ought to happen, but not necessarily what does. A woman who directs a physiotherapy department in a general hospital describes her department:

"S. a aussi une assistante qui prendra sa place quand elle aura ses vacances d'un mois. Elle a de plus quatre seniors: une s'occupe des brûlures et des bains spéciaux, des questions de stérilité. Une s'occupe de l'enseignement et une autre fait à peu près la même chose que S. Elle souligne que tout cela n'est qu'en théorie mais qu'en pratique les choses ne se passent pas ainsi et il y a beaucoup de recouplements dans les fonctions de même qu'elle prend beaucoup de responsabilités mentionnées."

This same woman gives us a suggestion of the delicacy of the position of the physiotherapists who, while working with doctors on a basis of mutual consultation, have not authority or status equal to the doctors, even if their specific knowledge is sometimes greater:

"Dans le département, il y a un médecin, un résident senior et deux internes. Elle dit que les internes font souvent des gaffes devant les physios qui, elles,... connaissent assez bien leur métier en comparaison aux internes qui sont nouveaux dans le département. Il en ressort que les physios n'acceptent pas toujours ce que leur disent les internes et S. doit voir à ce que la diplomatie règne dans le département. Elle doit aussi voir à ce que les internes changent de méthode s'ils n'ont pas la bonne ce qui est parfois très difficile à leur faire comprendre."

This suggests, however, that the physiotherapist is not clearly subordinate to the doctor, nor, one surmises, is she taught obedience to the doctor as a cardinal principle as Hughes found to be the case with nurses.² This being the case, one would expect that the therapist will eventually find her place in the hospital hierarchy to be somewhat higher than that of the regular staff nurse.

2. Hughes, E.C., Hughes, H.M., and Deutscher, Irwin, Twenty Thousand Nurses Tell their Stories, Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott, 1958, pp. 162-172, p. 195.

The paramedicals are of interest in themselves; their broader significance lies in the fact that in their case one sees processes which occur in some measure and manner in all new professions, in new specialties of old professions and in new ways practicing old professions. The problems may be solved in different ways. The models from abroad, if that is a solution sought to a problem, may come from one country or from another; often there is little choice in fact. The number of outsiders brought in to introduce the new things, or the number sent out to bring the new things back will vary. Problems will arise between the innovators and other people in the system who oppose the innovation or the place of the innovation in the system. In some cases there may be a struggle to determine who are the legitimate innovators, those will win the mandate to bring in the new thing, and the license to say who can practice.

Ethnic relationships in such a region as Quebec will be ~~in a very~~ large measure affected by these processes. When they are so affected, the ethnic factor will not change the nature of the problems or conflicts significantly. They will be of the same kind as the struggle of local physicians over the control of a medical school, or of a modern teaching hospital with its many attached specialists (pathologists, hospital administrators, anaesthesiologists, etc.); of local lawyers over control and over the nature of teaching in a law faculty; or the conflict of local school commissions and other organization over control of the newer types of secondary and higher education.

It is sometimes the fight between ~~town~~ and gown. It may be what I have long called the struggle between the itinerants and the home-guard; what Robert Merton and Alvin Gouldner speak of as the locals and the cosmopolitans. The local people often regard the more itinerant innovators as lacking in devotion, perhaps in 'engagement' to the home town, to the region, to the 'nation'. The itinerants look upon the home-guard as reactionary, as holding back progress. It seems an inevitable dialogue. In a bi-ethnic and bilingual society, the dialogue is apt to be carried in ethnic terms to some extent.

The chief examples we have given are women's professions. I assure the reader that, while we did not systematically interview physicians, we have gathered enough information concerning medical education and the practice of medicine in Quebec to demonstrate that very much the same process is going on in medicine itself as to the introduction of new specialties, the basic medical sciences, and the newer administrative and organizational features of the medical system. Rather than present data on the subject, I propose that these changes be made the object of thorough study in all the major fields of professional education and service. It is a topic on which popular social belief, even of many in the system itself, might not correspond to the reality. Professions are, among other things, bodies of people who surround their work with a mystique; they must do so in order to fulfil their functions to society. But it is better if the mystique takes account of the reality, if only to know better how to change it.

The relations between linguistic and cultural groups are not merely matters of individual attitude; they are matters of social structure and social change. Social structure and social change affect the life-chances, the career patterns of people. The study of biculturalism and bilingualism (or multi) must, to be penetrating, be study of social structure and of the ways in which changes of social structure affect the two, or several, kinds of people with respect to the kinds of lives they can lead at work and away from it (I have not touched much on the latter.)

Note on New Professions

Most of the subjects whom we classified as in new professions are also in the paramedical group or among those in the mass media. Some exceptions are of particular interest.

Criminologist: A woman of fifty, who has taught school, worked as a saleswoman, and as accountant, is capping her career with a Ph.D. in criminologie at the Université de Montréal. She has worked or gone to school, or both, since her youth. As she got into business, she learned English at work and at night classes. Eventually, she studied sociology, and began to teach it in various collèges in Montréal. She made her big break into graduate study when her parents, who had been somewhat dependent upon her, both died within a year. One gets the impression of an active, intelligent woman, straining always for occupational and educational adventure, but held in somewhat by obligation to her family. In the interview, it comes through that finally she is moving into something which she considers a true calling, and for which she believes her previous experience and her maturity fit her. So far as I know, there is no study of the French-Canadian "perle non réclamée." There are several mature spinsters among our nurses and therapeists. Certainly a greater variety of opportunities are open to them now. It may also be that it will be easier to gain freedom from family without going into religion. One of our subjects frankly said she had joined a religious order to be free of a demanding upper-middle class mother.

Dietetician: This woman has had a long experience with the Jeunesse étudiante catholique. As a result of certain personal experiences she feels especially called to aid people who have physical and personal problems. She has always been active in social movements. When she quit the J.E.C., -- as employed worker -- she had already finished her degree in dietetics, and went to work as a dietetician in a French Catholic hospital. However, about that time she sought to go to Boston for an M.A. in her subject; her English was too sketchy for her to be accepted. She took instead a job in an English speaking hospital to learn English, and remained for five years. Then she came back to the French world, and studies in the Master's program in dietetics at the Université de Montréal for a year.

One suspects that the lay institutional dietetician is a new thing here; certainly the dietetic consultant must be.

Physical education: Of the two people in this field whom we interviewed, one was an informant, the other a subject. The first, director of a department of physical education in a university, gave the story of this profession in French Canada. It is another case of an activity which is old taking on a new and more publicly professional form. Private gymnasiums and schools of physical education are an old institution. What is new is the course in universities and the place for the physical education teacher in the school system. The young priest, with his soutane tucked up, playing football and coaching the team in a collège school yard has always a common and attractive feature of the Quebec scene. The student wearing a bright sweater or wind-breaker with the etiquette "Education Physique, Université de Montréal," is a sign of the great increase of attendance at secondary schools and of a change in educational philosophy. Sports-minded as French Canadians have been, the school of physical education is new. The Université d'Ottawa started a four-year major in physical education in 1949. Most of the graduates came to Quebec. In 1955, l'Ecole d'Hygiène of the Université de Montréal established a part-time course of four years. Regular school teachers (professeurs in the French terminology) came three times a week to prepare for a specialty that would bring in extra money. Teachers already engaged in physical education came to specialize. Then, in 1961, the course was made into a one-year full time affair; the next year, a two-year diploma course for women, and a three ^{year} bachelor's course for men were established. Now finally, it has become a four-year course making the graduate into a Bachelor of Science in Physical Education. The director now says of his future:

Je veux faire de l'éducation physique une science exacte et c'est pourquoi mon département exige des cours de mathématique, chimie, et physique. Mais il faut aussi enseigner la pédagogie et les sciences sociales.

The teachers in this school are, most of them, graduates of the Université d'Ottawa, while four others come from recognized institutes of physical education in France. Next year, the director hopes to have

three more professors from France. Our informant himself had all of his schooling in French Canada, except for a final year of work for a Master's in Physical Education at the University of Illinois.

The development of this new profession follows to the letter the course of many that I have studied in the United States. An old art or activity, performed part-time by some other occupation or perhaps full time in some non-public institution, becomes the object of a new movement; there is a demand for it to become part of the programme of public schools or to be in some way more publicly pursued. Some of the part-time or amateur people engaged in the activity get support for a training course; if successful, it becomes part of the university system, with degrees and eventually higher degrees. The qualifications become standardized. This is precisely what has happened in French Canada in this case. Note that the informant got a finishing touch on his training in the United States; perhaps that was simply a matter of legitimacy, of getting a sort of license to be recognized by fellow professionals.

But in this case, the North-American profession has its counterpart in a finely developed art in France.

No one would, I believe, think of establishing degree-giving schools for physical education in France. I should not like to cause trouble in the new school of physical education at the Université de Montréal, but I predict a conflict between the anti-degree French philosophy and the pro-degree North-American philosophy. Thus far, I have not heard of any philosophy of physical fitness among the more restless French-Canadian youth, such as in the socialist parties and youth groups of mid-Europe before the First World War and in the Soviet Union and China later. But it could happen; the political movements could also equally likely condemn the physical education professionals as being bourgeois and even commercial.

Still another aspect of this new profession is the relation between performance and teaching. In the United States many athletic performers arm themselves with a degree in physical education (and coaching) as a hedge against aging (at the age of thirty or so in many sports). The performance phase of the athletic career is short;

a coach may go on forever, as did the famous Amos Stagg, an all American player of the 1890's who coached until he was in his own nineties.

Looked at in another way, this profession -- undoubtedly given a great surge by the Parent report and the movements which it expressed -- is another case in which an activity gets built into the secular educational and service establishment. Nearly all of our new professions are part of that process.

CHAPTER VII

BILINGUAL PRIVATE SECRETARIES.

The private secretary is a combination housekeeper and liaison officer in the middle and upper reaches of modern business organizations; there is thus good reason to call her the office wife. Like any other mood-control officer, she is able to suit her language to the situation. In the course of our work, we met several such women whose repertoire included not merely the nuances within one or other of the major languages, but whose special forte was knowledge of both French and English and the ability to turn either on, and in the right key, without advance notice. It seemed an occupation worth having a look at in Montreal, a city of many higher executives of English tongue in organizations with many French employees, customers and other connections. Mrs. Westley's report on the secretaries follows:

Introduction.

We obtained from Miss Erwin, president of the local branch of the National Secretaries Association, from Madame G. Bertrand, of the French Canada Studies Programme, and from the M^{other} House (Congrégation Notre Dame) the names of a number of secretaries, fifteen of whom we interviewed. In addition, five others were discovered to have been interviewed in different categories, such as the B.A. pour adultes, and these have been added to our analysis.

We were interested in bilingual secretaries, particularly, on the theory that in a multi-ethnic (or bi-ethnic) society, the kind of woman who is capable and bilingual can and often does function in a very important liaison capacity between the two ethnic groups. We could imagine that the secretary takes the feminine rôle in an office, not only in relation to her boss, for whom she provides many personal as well as business services, but also she serves as an intermediary between a

unilingual "foreign" boss, and the other-lingual, "native" workers and clerks, or between him and clients or other firms belonging to the "native" population. The capable, bilingual secretary might be thought of as cushioning and smoothing the relations between, in this case, an English-speaking "patron" and his French-speaking workers and clients. Hughes found this relationship to exist in Germany at the time of the occupation between American officers, their bilingual German secretaries and the German population or office workers, for example.

We were, then, looking not just for any secretary, but a special category, and asked from each of our informants for the names of bilingual women with evidence of ambition and capability, preferably with some years of experience. We tried to obtain a few Anglophone bilingual secretaries, but in this we failed. They do exist, but they are very rare, which is not really surprising, not only because the English in Quebec have generally not found it necessary to learn French, but also because the particular role of the bilingual secretary in which we are interested would be much more difficult for a bilingual Anglophone to fill than for the French Canadian. Indeed, the English Canadian might not be acceptable to either side as an intermediary. We interviewed three English-speaking secretaries, women of considerable capability and experience, but the only one who uses two languages in her work is a daughter of immigrant Danish parents.

CAREER AND CAREER CONTINGENCIES OF BEING A SECRETARY

In general the career line and career problems are the same for all secretaries, bilingual or unilingual. In the first place, it seems to be a career chosen by default. Ten of our group took secretarial training either because their families were unable or unwilling to send them through a cours classique (or other general advanced education). The reason most frequently given is that only the boys in the family needed the cours classique. Three others were thwarted in their first choice of career (nursing, music, art) and took a secretarial course because they did not know what else to do.

If, as is likely, the upper-middle class French-Canadian young woman will go to university, and not be sacrificed to her brothers, the supply of those who fall into the secretarial career may fail. We have already seen that there are other professions available to educated women in the post-industrial world, the world in which less brawn is required, and in which more and more men need house-keeping and liaison help at their work. Still another contingency is the future ethnic and linguistic composition of the middle and higher ranks of management. If industry becomes unilingually French, presumably the bilingual secretary would go. The growth of English as a language of business and science throughout the world makes it unlikely that there will cease to be a demand for bilingual secretaries in Quebec.

a) Level of Instruction and Secretarial Training.

The usual training for a secretarial course in Quebec is grade 11 in the public school, or Lettres-Sciences in a Collège, plus an extra year's training in a business college or secretarial school. Of our group of secretaries, ten attended the cours classique in a collège through Lettres-Sciences. Seven of these then took the bilingual course at the Mother House. Another Mother House graduate had a B.A. from a collège classique. Nine others went to public high schools, and four of these had their secretarial training from the commercial course offered there. All the others, as well as the remaining Lettres-Sciences graduates sent to business colleges, except for one girl who took typing at a "collège" as an extra subject.

Secondary School TrainingSecretarial Training

Collège classique (Lettres-Sciences)	Secondary School Commerce Course	Mother House	Business College
11 (one to B.A.) - of which -	1*	8	2
Public High School			
9 - of which -	4	1	4
Totals 20	5	9	6

*This girl took typing as extra course at the college.

b) The Nature and Conditions of Work.

The work of a secretary is often monotonous and offers little opportunity for creativity or initiative, especially at the lower echelons. And it is at all levels, basically, a service occupation. When they actually begin their work, most of the women we interviewed find that they do not like it, and either keep changing jobs in an effort to find more interesting work, or change professions as soon as opportunity offers itself. They complained of jobs where they were expected to do too much work, and of other offices where there was not enough to do. They want more responsibility, more freedom to make decisions, and if they like a job it is often because it is not monotonous. More than one secretary who liked her work said "Je ne sais pas du tout ce que j'aurai à faire au cours de la journée.", or if they dislike it, it is because "Le travail de secrétaire comporte trop de routine." In connection with looking for responsibilities, however, our group may be exceptional, since Mother St. Catherine Miriam, principal of the Mother House, explained that her students in general wanted and were able to take more initiative than most secretaries, an impression reiterated by some of our interviewees, "la

plupart des secrétaires ne veulent pas trop de responsabilités."

Another fact of life for the secretary is that her job is a very insecure one. There is no standardization of pay or of performance, and no objective critaria whereby a secretary may be assured of tenure and promotion. As an informant said, "Girls are almost completely dependent on the good will and high opinion of their current boss for secretarial reputation and always for recommendations". A woman of years of experience and demonstrated ability may lose her job without warning, because her boss does not like her -- "she came back from a meeting at five o'clock on a Friday afternoon and was simply told that they would not need her services anymore and she could get no explanation", or because her boss dies or moves to a position where he cannot take her with him: "A la suite de la mort du patron en 1965, elle perdit son emploi et devint secrétaire à l'école..."

On the other hand, one is far more impressed with the frequency with which our secretaries have voluntarily changed jobs or given them up to travel or to take extended holidays. In our group, at least, these women seem to have no fear of being unable to find jobs, and good ones. Whether this reflects the demand for well-trained secretaries or whether this is an occupation with generally high turnover rates is hard to say. In any case, these women are world travelers far beyond the norm for the general population. Ten of our twenty (and these include our most successful and dedicated secretaries) have travelled extensively -- to Europe, Latin America, the Far and Near East, and they do so for periods of months and sometimes years, cheerfully coming back "elle n'avait plus qu'un sous en poche." In this particular case, three weeks later she had a job as secretary to a director of television. The reasons generally given are a love of adventure, of seeing new places and people. Perhaps this yen for adventure derives from the combination of bright, capable women in jobs which are limited and perhaps confining, relative to their capacities.

Certainly, another contingency of the career life of the secretary is that her prestige is always derivative, i.e., it is dependent upon and reflects that of her boss, and she can never rise to be "boss" unless she ceases to be a secretary. She can rise, however, within the career of secretary from the typing pool to the private secretary of the president

of the largest corporation, or biggest enterprise in any country. She can do this by two, or perhaps three means, (1) By attaching herself to a boss who regards her as indispensable and who himself moves to higher positions (homeguard method I). (2) By moving from one boss to another in the same enterprise, each time gaining in salary and derivative status (homeguard method II) and (3) By moving from one boss to another in different companies or institutions. (itinerant method). Most secretaries in our group have used all three of these at one time or another, since even if a girl eventually attaches herself permanently to one boss or one company, we have no cases where the girls found such an attachment at the very beginning of her career. A little moving around is the usual pattern, especially in the early years.

THE HOMEGUARD METHOD - "THE TRUE SECRETARY"

A sense of vocation is rare among even our group of highly successful secretaries, a group is composed almost entirely of unmarried women (only two are now married; two others were married and divorced after very short marriages) for whom, therefore, we can assume their careers are important. However, in our group of twenty, eight women can be said to enjoy their work and even have some sense of vocation about it. All of these except two (and these two are quite young and may not yet have their careers settled) have chosen one of the Homeguard methods of advancement. Six of the group were trained at the Mother House.* It is these women who concern themselves with what a "true secretary" is: "Une vraie secrétaire prend les rendez-vous du patron, et ne limite pas son travail à la sténographie et au dactyle." Another is quoted by the interviewer as recounting her tasks with the pride and satisfaction of one who feels she is a "true" secretary:

* The importance of the Mother House Secretarial School in producing well-trained, bilingual secretaries with a sense of pride and love of their work should perhaps be noted. They are chosen from the brightest applicants and then must achieve a high standard of excellence in order to graduate: 100 words a minute in shorthand in their own language, 80 words a minute in the second language; 50 words a minute in typing in both languages. Furthermore, they have a sense of pride in being Mother House graduates and in being secretaries. (See interview with Principal of the Mother House and interview with Mrs. Morrison of Royal Typewriter Employment Agency.)

"Elle fait le travail de correspondance et prend les rendez-vous ... Elle fait aussi du travail personnel comme de copier les minutes de sa réunion de club de golf, ou d'organiser ses journées de golf... Elle dit que plus le patron occupe un grade élevé, plus sa secrétaire doit faire pour lui du travail personnel de ce genre."

If a woman wishes to make her career contingent on the continued success of a particular man, (homeguard method I) she makes herself indispensable to him. "Elle est le bras-droit du patron. Elle est toujours là pour le secouder et lui rappeler ce qu'il a à faire." This is not difficult, since the boss wants her to do exactly that. Another secretary

"s'étonne un peu que les patrons pour qui elle travaille y (au travail de secrétaire) attachaient tous beaucoup d'importance et disaient que s'ils n'avaient pas leur secrétaire, ils ne pourraient plus travailler. Elle croit qu'elle travaille au niveau des détails et fait toutes les petites choses qui sont indispensables pour que le patron puisse faire son ouvrage."

And one who performs many personal services for her boss, "sait que quand son patron aura une promotion elle montera en grade avec lui." Another of these women gives an exact description of her work:

"Son travail de secrétaire consiste à: prendre toutes les décisions de moindre importance, régler les problèmes de routine sans déranger le patron si ce n'est pas nécessaire. Elle doit aussi ouvrir le courrier, répondre aux lettres de routine, prendre la dictée du patron et écrire ces lettres, faire la classification des dossiers, fixer les rendez-vous du patron. C'est elle aussi qui fait les réservations de voyage du patron et des directeurs de l'extérieur qui viennent à Montréal. Dernièrement, elle a organisé un Cocktail que son patron donnait à son domicile pour ses gérants. Elle organise aussi des dîners pour ses gérants. Elle organise aussi des dîners pour recevoir le Président: choisit le restaurant et le menu sous les conseils du patron, paie la note.

This woman is secretary to the directeur of one of the most important Canadian enterprises and regards herself as eminently successful and would be so regarded by other secretaries. She defines another aspect of the role:

"Une secrétaire prend de l'importance avec l'expérience et l'entregent avec les adjoints et les chefs de rayon du patron. Elle sait leur rendre service, sans être indiscrete au sujet des affaires du patron ... Sa récompense consiste dans la confiance qu'en lui accorde et l'estime de l'entourage."

This degree of confidence reposing in the secretary suggests that at this level, the secretary has achieved considerable freedom and even status, derivative or not. This is confirmed by the secretary to the manager of the Canadian branch of a foreign firm: "Le travail entre ego et son patron se fait sur le plan de la collaboration mutuelle. Ils discutent, expliquent leur point de vue tous les deux" And another, secretary of the vice-president of a large Canadian firm, explained to the interviewer that "elle est très libre. Elle peut arriver à l'heure qu'elle veut le matin et prendre le temps qu'elle veut pour dîner. Cependant, elle ne fait pas d'exagération."

If, on the other hand, she wishes to make her career within a particular institution or company, (hameguard method II) she gets ahead by staying within that company and getting to know all about its operations. She may move from one boss to another, presumably upward in the organization that is each boss having more prestige than the last.

"La sujette est la plus bilingue au magasin. Elle est aussi la plus ancienne: les hommes ont tous changé depuis qu'elle y est ... C'est donc le sujet qui a le plus de chances d'avancement ... Elle croit qu'elle est surtout utile à son patron en raison de ses années d'expérience au service de la compagnie."

A woman in this position builds a reputation within the company and can apply through its personnel department for better positions, although she will be allowed to move only if her present boss is willing to let her go and gives her a good recommendation.

THE ITINERANT METHOD - THE DISCONTENTED

Moving from one company or institution to another is trickier. Women of the calibre whom we interviewed very often find new jobs by word of mouth -- by enquiring of friends, by mentioning their availability

to other secretaries in such organizations as the National Secretaries Association. Often they go to employment agencies, leave their names and indicate what kind of position they want. When the employment agency turns up something, the secretary has an interview with her prospective employer and only when everything is settled with the new job does she give notice to her present boss. A woman who runs an employment agency said that many a secretary has been fired as soon as it was known that she was looking for another job outside the company. For this reason, a secretary who wants a better job somewhere else announces her intention to leave only when she is sure she has another job lined up. She will still need the recommendation of her present boss and he is less likely to be antagonized if she announces that she has an offer of a better job than if she says that she is dissatisfied with working for him.

These women who have not stuck either with a boss or with a company, but have moved from institution to enterprise, etc., are in general those who dislike being a secretary. We have eleven or twelve (partly it is a matter of interpretation how many), or more than half who in various degrees express dissatisfaction with being a secretary. Ten have already either gone into other careers or are now taking training with the hope of doing so. In reading their interviews, one has the general impression that for various reasons these women were never able to obtain the kind of secretarial position which might have been satisfying, i.e., a high-level one, or that they could not accept secretarial work, i.e., they were too ambitious or simply not temperamentally suited to the work. One woman said that "elle a trouvé que le travail de secrétaire était berner;" or another "elle n'aime pas (le travail de secrétaire) parce qu'il ne lui laisse pas la possibilité de créer quelque chose."; or again, "elle en avait assez du travail de secrétaire parce qu'elle était trop limitée." An English-speaking secretary, who did achieve these high-level jobs, has had thirty different positions, each time improving her salary or position. She explained that it was because:

"She had always hated secretarial work and was never satisfied in any job and so kept changing them in the hope of finding one where she would be happier ... She hated the work because it was

non-creative and the relationships within the office were very largely impersonal."

A number of these women express their dissatisfaction simply by eagerly seizing the first opportunity to do something other than secretarial work. A student in the B.A. pour adultes programme at the Université de Montréal says that she vegetated from the moment she began to work as a secretary, but "j'ai commencé à vivre seulement quand je suis entrée à l'université." Another who gradually began doing educational administration work in addition to her secretarial work for the Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal said, "Elle n'était plus simple secrétaire, mais faisait partie de l'équipe."

ORBIT OF THE CAREER.

If a woman does not like the work of a secretary, what other possibilities are there for her, without too great a cost in retraining? Most of the secretaries in our interviews have not interrupted their careers to be retrained for different careers. They have taken evening courses in a few cases, but with the exception of one of the two married women and another who went to a hospital nursing school, they have felt they could not afford to give up their work and go to school on a full-time basis. However, one gets the impression that the motivation for retraining may not be very high. One woman explained to the interviewer that "elle ne pourrait pas laisser son travail pour étudier à plein temps. Elle est habituée à un standard de vie élevé et à des voyages."

For the most part (in six out of the nine cases) these secretaries have changed their jobs by simply taking on some non-secretarial aspects of the work done in their companies or by their bosses and "peu à peu, elle a laissé tomber des choses (de secrétaire) et en a pris d'autres." In this case, the secretary became an editor and finally a writer. Other careers to which our secretaries have gravitated through unofficial on-the-job training are: public relations, translator, bookkeeper, adult education (for a union), psycho-technician. Another woman found herself a job as a chart analyst, a sort of efficiency expert on how

to fill out records and forms in hospitals, industries, etc. Being an entirely new specialty, there is no training and no one trained to do it.

SPECIAL FACTORS IN THE CAREER OF THE BILINGUAL SECRETARY

It is interesting to note that of the eighteen women in our group of secretaries who are to some extent bilingual, only eleven actually work in the two languages and seven of these were trained at the Mether House. Two others were bilingual from childhood, since English as well as French was spoken in their families, and the last two studied in English schools. They all have particular training which makes working in English comfortable, because it should be reiterated that the bilingual secretary is nearly always French-speaking by preference.

An employment agency director has explained some of the particular difficulties of the bilingual secretary. The market for bilingual secretaries became overinflated as a result of the social and political pressure of the last few years, with the result that many girls who are not really bilingual claim to be. She said that within the last two weeks she has had, for example, two girls who came looking for jobs and who announced with assurance that although they could not speak any English, they could take dictation in it. Bilingual secretaries command slightly higher salaries, in general, she thinks, and so it is tempting, if you knew any English at all to try to get a job as a bilingual secretary. The results of this are however unfortunate for everybody. The secretary finds herself in a job she is not really competent to fill, whereas her boss probably expected more of her than he would of an ordinary secretary (after all it must be twice as difficult to be a secretary in two languages as in one, and besides he may be paying more for her).

Some of our secretaries have confirmed this experience:

"Lorsqu'elle travaillait chez ... (English firm) au début et qu'elle ne connaissait pas bien l'anglais, elle devait prendre les minutes des réunions des vendeurs. Parfois elle écrivait des choses sans en comprendre le sens et se trompait: il lui arriva de noter: 'I was sick and dead' au lieu de 'sick in bed.'"

Others simply refuse to work in an English firm or say that they do not like to work in English, again "elle ne resta pas longtemps à cet endroit, parce que l'adaptation y fut très dure à cause des nombreux termes techniques en Anglais qu'il fallait connaître et employer."

The unhappy result of all this is often that the boss decides that French secretaries are not as good or as predictable as English ones, as the employment agency suggested, and that the secretary may decide she does not want to work in English firms. It is another case of familiarity breeding mere contempt than understanding.

On the other hand, it is clear that for the truly bilingual secretary who likes to use English, this facility may be an important factor in her career. They may receive promotions or jobs because of it, "Le Directeur médical a voulu une secrétaire bilingue; elle était la seule dans cette compagnie et elle a reçu la position à cause de cela." And "Il lui (directeur général de la compagnie) fallait donc une secrétaire bilingue et la sujette était sa seule secrétaire bilingue de tout le magasin." And this same woman felt that her position with the company and her promotions are assured because she "est la plus bilingue au magasin."

The way in which the bilingual secretary is indispensable are, as we might expect, in general business terms:

"Encore dans ce cas, une secrétaire bilingue était indispensable. Dans cette compagnie on a des clients français et anglais, on a un personnel anglais et français, même on a une correspondance avec des usines de France ... et des magasins en Colombie Britannique..."

We would also expect to find the personal service aspect, certainly at the level of secretaries to presidents: "Il (son patron) doit souvent donner des discours. Parfois, elle lui prépare un petit discours simple en français et le lui fait répéter."

CONCLUSION

Our small pilot study is certainly suggestive as to the scope and nature of the secretary's career. For the most part the contingencies are the same for English and French, bilingual or unilingual secretaries. The most successful and those who enjoy their work the most are those who enjoy the personal service relationship to their bosses, and/or who feel themselves to be important if not indispensable to the organization for which they work, because of long service, knowledgability, or special skills. One of these skills may be the ability to use and be at home in both French and English, and when a "true" secretary is also thoroughly bilingual, there is evidence that she may fill the feminine intermediary role between the "patron" and his employees or clients, which we postulated in the Introduction.

CHAPTER VIIIPRODUCERS, WRITERS, ACTORS, JOURNALISTS, AND OTHER CREATIVE WORKERS OF
THE MASS MEDIA

Several features of these occupations make them of special interest to us. The careers are precarious; they may be short. Entering them is also precarious; there is no sure road into them. Yet the institutions in which they are practiced are highly organized and show certain bureaucratic tendencies. To gain bureaucratic security, however, the creative worker must often leave his main work and take up some auxiliary activity, such as administration or routine translations. This is a feature of many careers: sports, acting, musical performance, writing. He may even leave the whole system in which he did his work. Musicians teach music; but some leave the musical world altogether. I have had quite a number of them in courses for the M.A. in sociology. In short, these people are constantly self-conscious of their position. As M. Lamontagne shows in his report, many of his subjects were already hedging against the time when they could no longer be secure in their work, or against the even more imminent time when they could remain at it only by slumping into routine. Many do not have income enough to support a family.

Another feature of these occupations is that they are so very closely bound to a culture and a language, although the same talents could no doubt be applied in other cultures. Acting is not completely culture bound, but the institutions in which these people work are the very heart of a cultural complex, that of French Canada.

The creative people in the complex are bound by language, and by reputation to French Canada. If they were to aspire to go on from Montreal

to some larger center, it would be Paris. The move is difficult and rare for performing artists. The particular few whom M. Lamontagne interviewed are bound by something more than language as a technical skill; they are deeply 'engagés' in Quebec, in their country, its autonomy and place in the world. Their protest against commercialism, which one often hears from people in the arts, is directed against the United States. The advertiser with whom one has to deal in radio is an English-speaking representative of an agency out to sell an American product.

In sharp contrast to the young men on the move in our utility and industry (whose products, in both cases, are free of bonds to culture or language), the creators deeply involved in political and social movements. Furthermore, they appear to have almost no contacts with anglophone workers of their own kind. They identify their own success with the advancement of French Canada itself as a social, political and cultural entity. Their careers have been contained completely within the French-Canadian world.

Voici des notes sur une douzaine d'interviewés que nous avons rencontrés l'été dernier (1965) au sujet de leur carrière dans un mass medium. Parmi les interviewés, il s'en trouve qui sont employés à la radio, à la télévision, au cinéma, pour un journal ou pour une revue. Certains d'entre eux n'ont travaillé que pour la radio, d'autres que pour le cinéma. Mais un certain nombre ont de l'expérience dans plusieurs domaines des mass média.

Nous avons groupé nos interviewés sous le vocable de créateur puisque le travail de chacun d'eux comporte un minimum de création. Par ailleurs, nous spécifierons le genre de travail dont il s'agit lorsque cela sera nécessaire pour les fins de notre exposé. Nous

trouverons parmi les créateurs des réalisateurs à la radio et à la télévision, des metteurs en scène au cinéma, des scénaristes, des journalistes, des rédacteurs et des comédiens.

I. PROBLEMES DE LA PROFESSION

1. Caractéristiques des créateurs:

Un cinéaste nous a confié que ce sont ses qualités d'organisation et de sensibilité qui lui permettent de fonctionner dans le milieu du cinéma et dans sa carrière. Lorsqu'il était jeune, il aimait la peinture et en a fait; mais il dit qu'il n'aurait pas pu en faire toute sa vie, bien que cela corresponde à ses qualités de sensibilité, puisque son besoin d'organisation n'aurait pas été satisfait. Dans son travail actuel, il est toujours en contact avec d'autres personnes et doit collaborer et échanger des idées avec elles. C'est une chose qu'il dit aimer beaucoup et à laquelle il tient. A son avis, pour devenir cinéaste, il faut le vouloir: "si un jeune veut le devenir vraiment, il devrait y réussir. Mais cela implique aussi qu'il faut pouvoir travailler avec les autres. Il faut penser par soi-même et avoir ses propres idées, mais aussi être capable d'assimiler ce que disent les autres. Il faut supporter une grande tension nerveuse."

En télévision, un réalisateur que nous avons interrogé prétend que sa position est "centrale" quand il s'agit de préparer et présenter une émission. "Le commanditaire a moins d'autorité que le réalisateur. Dès que les commanditaires veulent avoir une attitude d'autorité, on peut les mettre à la porte du studio." Ailleurs, le

même réalisateur dira: "Pour bien exercer son travail, le réalisateur a besoin d'autorité. Si on lui enlève de l'autorité, son travail ne vaut plus rien." Mais il reconnaît également le risque d'accorder trop de latitude au réalisateur: "Si on lui donne de l'autorité, il peut devenir dangereux pour le patron." L'interviewé a évoqué un incident qui met en relief l'importance qu'a pour les réalisateurs l'autorité: "Dans une convention de travail, il a été question de réclamer des cachets supplémentaires pour les commerciaux. Cela aurait été très payant. Nous nous sommes opposés au cachet supplémentaire pour que les réalisateurs gardent l'autorité. Le sacrifice a été très lourd, car nous aurions doublé notre salaire. C'est le geste le plus sensationnel que j'aie vu chez les réalisateurs. Je suis sûr qu'à Toronto, et n'importe où ailleurs dans le monde, les réalisateurs auraient accepté le cachet."

Les écrivains ne travaillent pas dans une institution, du moins pas d'une manière stable et régulière. L'un d'entre eux nous a exprimé son isolement: "A vingt ans, j'étais assez isolé, malgré tout. J'ai toujours été comme ça, d'ailleurs. Je connaissais beaucoup de gens, mais je ne les voyais pas tellement. C'est d'ailleurs typiquement canadien-français. Il n'y avait pas une vie intellectuelle comme il y en a à Paris ou à New York où les gens se voient beaucoup. C'est une culture froide, camouflée..."

2. Le prestige de la profession:

A la télévision, il existe une hiérarchie de fonctions dont le poste de réalisateur peut être considéré comme l'aboutissement. Au

bas de l'échelle se trouve le poste de régisseur. Il y a ensuite celui de coordonnateur. Comme nous l'a expliqué un employé de la télévision: "Pour certaines personnes, la réalisation est l'étape ultime. Pour moi, c'est seulement une étape vers l'administration..."

Mais le prestige varie aussi à l'intérieur de la catégorie des réalisateurs selon la qualité ou la popularité de leurs émissions. Ainsi, un réalisateur que ses patrons voulaient punir fut transféré pendant un certain temps de la section des téléthéâtres à une émission d'actualité de moindre importance.

Pour les comédiens, le prestige dépend non seulement de l'émission mais aussi du rôle qui leur est assigné. Il s'agit pour le comédien ou la comédienne d'avoir la vedette et de la conserver. Une personne du métier nous a déclaré: "La comédienne doit créer un mythe autour d'elle pour se faire remarquer, à cause de la concurrence."

Tandis que le prestige à la radio et à la télévision est d'une durée relativement courte, il apparaît être moins fuyant au cinéma. Un metteur en scène a exprimé de la façon suivante comment il voulait atteindre à la notoriété: "Je veux faire de bons films qui vont faire marque, parce que je veux que quelque chose de moi reste après ma mort."

3. Le caractère éphémère de la popularité:

Dans le domaine de l'actualité, le reporter se soucie constamment d'être en mesure de traiter adéquatement des sujets dont il parle. "Dans ma profession, nous a déclaré un reporter radiophonique

que, il y a le danger d'être dépassé par les événements."

Pour les comédiennes - plus que pour les comédiens, semble-t-il, le problème du vieillissement est important. "Une femme qui vieillit a moins d'emploi, dira une comédienne."

4. L'insécurité propre à la profession:

Les créateurs peuvent souvent manquer de sécurité à cause des contrats ou engagements qui sont d'une durée limitée et qui peuvent être en relation avec les succès antérieurs qu'a connus le créateur. Nous avons rencontré un journaliste syndical qui n'a pas été réengagé par son journal après qu'il eût participé à une grève du journal. Un scripteur nous a dit qu'à un moment donné il a voulu trouver une plus grande stabilité: son travail ne pouvait être régulier puisque c'était du travail à contrat.

Une comédienne qui songeait à acquérir une formation universitaire nous a fait part de son besoin de sécurité en disant: "Une profession pourrait me procurer une certaine sécurité."

5. Les contacts nécessaires pour obtenir un emploi:

L'emploi des créateurs leur offrant parfois trop peu de sécurité, il semble que l'on favorise les amitiés personnelles pour s'assurer d'un contrat. "Dans le milieu de la radio, nous a-t-on dit, il faut toujours recommencer à zéro, parce que les patrons changent si souvent. Il faudrait continuellement entretenir des relations avec les patrons pour être dans leurs bonnes grâces. Les carrières dans ce milieu tiennent à des amitiés. Le poste de radio pour lequel je travaille est un ensemble de chapelles."

6. La formation intellectuelle des créateurs:

Il se peut qu'à un moment donné dans sa carrière, un créateur sente le besoin de parfaire ses connaissances. Un journaliste à qui on avait confié la tâche de faire des reportages en Orient nous a avoué qu'il n'a pu comprendre suffisamment la situation parce qu'il lui manquait une formation en sciences sociales. "Mon travail était acceptable. Mais ça n'était pas satisfaisant pour moi. J'aurais pu rapporter bien des choses sur l'Orient, mais je ne l'ai pas fait, parce qu'il me manquait de connaissances."

Tous les créateurs que nous avons rencontrés sont conscients des exigences intellectuelles de leur travail. Ils reconnaissent la nécessité d'une formation en sciences humaines pour bien effectuer leur travail. Aucun de ceux que nous avons rencontrés n'a cette formation, bien que certains d'entre eux aient déjà entrepris des cours à plein temps ou à temps partiel. En général, ils ont un B.A. ou ont fait une partie du cours classique.

7. Leur formation professionnelle:

Souvent, le milieu du travail a joué un rôle important dans la préparation des créateurs à l'exercice de leurs fonctions présentes. Une rédactrice nous a dit que c'est un hasard si elle a obtenu son travail actuel. Elle n'a pas suivi un cours pour la préparer à cela. Elle a commencé comme secrétaire dans un service de publicité et elle est devenu rédactrice après quelques années. "J'ai monté grâce à mon expérience et aux contacts que j'avais avec les gens, dit-elle."

Un réalisateur qui a abandonné ses études avant la fin de son cours classique s'est trouvé du travail comme simple annonceur de radio dans un poste privé de la province. Il a pris du métier et a abouti à Montréal comme reporter à la pige avant d'être nommé réalisateur de radio.

Un autre a pris contact avec la radio en étant annonceur de soir alors qu'il était inscrit à l'université. Il devint par la suite reporter. (Voir "Les activités parascolaires" de ce rapport).

8. Le renouvellement de la formation intellectuelle des créateurs:

Lorsque le créateur prend conscience qu'il n'est plus en mesure de satisfaire adéquatement aux exigences de sa profession - ce qui semble se produire notamment lorsqu'il réussit mal à obtenir des engagements - il songe aux moyens qui lui sont offerts de se perfectionner ou de se réorienter. Un annonceur qui est retourné aux études tout en poursuivant son travail croit qu'en se procurant une formation universitaire il prend "une avance de quarante ans" sur ses confrères annonceurs.

Un écrivain qui, étant marié, ne pouvait se permettre de retourner aux études a étudié le soir par lui-même afin de pouvoir se comparer avantageusement aux autres écrivains de sa génération. Il était né d'une famille ouvrière et n'avait pas pris contact dans sa jeunesse avec les œuvres littéraires françaises et canadiennes-françaises. Il nous a déclaré: "Il a fallu que je fasse le travail de deux ou trois générations. Le premier fils d'ouvrier qui va aux études est en retard spirituellement de deux générations... J'ai dû sauter des étapes."

9. Conscience sociale et politique des créateurs:

Un réalisateur dans un poste privé de radio à Montréal nous a dit qu'il est loin d'être séparatiste et que cela lui serait même égal que "l'en soit annexés aux Etats-Unis."

Cependant, la majorité des créateurs que nous avons interrogés ont manifesté un vif désir d'autonomie pour le Québec. Leur sentiment est bien représenté par les paroles suivantes d'un ancien rédacteur publicitaire: "... il y a eu une période assez terrible où j'ai travaillé dans la publicité. Cela a duré à peu près six mois... Cela m'a fait que confirmer ce que je savais déjà sur le plan des problèmes nationaux, économiques et linguistiques. Je vivais dans le milieu de la publicité qui est un milieu parasite du milieu des affaires, lequel milieu des affaires est fondamentalement angle-saxon. Cela a été une expérience extrêmement importante pour moi..."

Un réalisateur nous a déclaré que dans son travail il peut y avoir des problèmes sur le plan politique. "Si ce n'était pas de mon travail, je serais plus farouchement séparatiste. Mais, officiellement, je dois me limiter à la thèse des Etats associés."

Un autre réalisateur de radio s'est prononcé dans le même sens: "Dans mes émissions, je peux faire tout ce que je veux, sauf prendre position officielle pour l'indépendance... Pour passer nos théories, il faut que ce soit très subtil." Et il ajouta: "Il est plus possible de passer quelque chose à la radio, étant donné que l'auditoire est plus restreint et plus choisi."

10. La vie parafessionnelle des créateurs:

Un rédacteur publicitaire nous a fait part des difficultés qu'il a eues pour s'affirmer dans son travail: "il y a eu une sorte de schizophrénie, une sorte de dédoublement chez-moi. Au lieu de m'affirmer dans ma carrière, j'ai cherché à m'affirmer en dehors de ma carrière. On rejoint là le colonialisme: dans un pays colonisé, on

ne peut pas s'affirmer. La carrière de publicitaire au Canada français est une carrière entre colon et colonisé. Pour que la carrière de publicitaire m'emballe, il aurait fallu qu'elle implique une création. Dans la publicité, je n'ai pas pu être créateur."

Cette insatisfaction dans le travail, jointe à une conscience de problèmes nationaux a fait qu'un certain nombre de créateurs se sont intéressés à des mouvements idéologiques. Quelques-uns d'entre eux ont même été à l'origine de ces mouvements. (Voir VII, Aspirations).

II. Les possibilités de promotion dans le milieu professionnel:

Certains créateurs commencent au bas de l'échelle; d'autres accèdent immédiatement à un échelon plus élevé. A côté de femmes journalistes qui ont commencé comme secrétaire, il s'en trouve d'autres qui, ayant eu une expérience journalistique au collège ont pu immédiatement obtenir un poste de reporter.

La promotion peut se faire dans une même institution. Elle peut aussi se faire d'une institution à l'autre. On pourra ainsi passer de la radio à la télévision, à un journal, à une revue et au cinéma. Il semble que la facilité de circulation dans l'orbite soit liée à un certain succès dans la profession. Un certain nombre de créateurs peuvent à un moment donné dans leur vie sortir de l'orbite et entrer dans l'arène politique ou devenir haut fonctionnaire au gouvernement.

On peut se demander si les exigences du métier de journaliste ne se sont pas modifiées. Une journaliste qui s'est éloignée de sa profession pendant quelques années pour se consacrer à la préparation d'émissions de télévision nous a manifesté son inquiétude à la possi-

bilité de retourner dans un journal, car a-t-elle dit "je crois que je n'aurais pas assez de connaissance en sciences de l'homme pour reprendre mon travail de journaliste."

Outre les possibilités de promotion dans le milieu professionnel, il faudrait donc considérer les exigences de la survie dans ce milieu.

II. NIVEAU ET TYPE D'INSTRUCTION

1. Le cours classique non terminé:

Dans bon nombre de cas, nos interviewés avaient entrepris le cours classique mais ne l'avaient pas terminé. Les raisons sont variées: l'indiscipline, l'insuccès scolaire, le désir d'être autonome en gagnant de l'argent, la maladie, ou encore, le mariage.

2. On voudrait poursuivre ses études:

La majorité des interviewés ont souligné l'importance pour eux de parfaire leurs études à l'université, et ils ont mentionné les sciences humaines comme étant la discipline qui serait le plus utile à l'exercice de leur profession. On nous a parlé de projets d'études en psychologie, en anthropologie, en science politique, en sociologie et en histoire.

Ceux qui sont avancés en âge et en responsabilités familiales peuvent difficilement songer à abandonner leur emploi et poursuivre des études à plein temps. Ils ne peuvent suivre des cours qu'à temps partiel. Mais les études à temps partiel progressent très lentement. Une rédactrice nous a confié qu'elle a commencé à suivre des cours du soir en vue d'obtenir un B.A. Elle dit avoir abandonné au bout d'un an parce que cela lui faisait trop d'études et qu'elle a constaté que cela lui prendrait dix ans avant d'avoir son B.A.

Quand on veut parfaire ses études mais qu'il est impossible de le faire à l'université, on le fait parfois par soi-même, ainsi que l'illustre cette phrase d'un interviewé: "J'ai commencé tard dans la vie, mais je constate que l'inégalité ne persiste pas toujours. Le travail, la volonté, l'effort, tout cela peut compenser pour une formation intellectuelle que l'on n'a pas eue dans sa famille, dans son milieu social et à l'université."

3. Ceux qui sont retournés aux études:

Un scripteur qui est étudiant à temps partiel nous a manifesté son ennui à suivre des cours menant au baccalauréat ès arts. Mais il aspire à obtenir une licence en lettres et il lui est nécessaire de passer par le B.A.

Quand une personne retourne aux études à plein temps, elle se sépare de son milieu professionnel. Plus tard, elle pourra, soit revenir à son ancienne profession, soit obtenir une promotion dans le même milieu, soit prendre une orientation étrangère à son ancien travail. Nous avons remarqué chez ceux qui sont retournés aux études à plein temps l'ambition d'enseigner à l'université et de faire de la recherche, de même que l'ambition d'accéder à un poste de haut fonctionnaire au gouvernement.

III. EXPERIENCE LINGUISTIQUE

1. Le milieu des créateurs: un milieu unilingue:

A l'Office National du Film, nous rapporte un interviewé, il fut un temps où la production française était intégrée à la production anglaise. "Tout était à Ottawa. Il fallait aux cinéastes de langue française non seulement travailler, mais aussi écrire leurs

scénarios en Anglais. Et ils étaient jugés par des Canadiens-anglais. Les Canadiens-français ont lutté très durement pour se libérer de cela et y ont réussi. L'O.N.F. est déménagée à Montréal en 1956. Depuis ce temps, la production française est séparée de la production anglaise." Ces remarques mettent en relief la nécessité de l'unilinguisme quand il s'agit de produire un travail artistique.

Un autre interviewé a affirmé que "Radio-Canada est une des rares institutions fédérales où le milieu de travail est soit anglais, soit français. Chez-nous, a-t-il ajouté, tout se passe en français. Dans les relations de travail, il y a un texte anglais et un texte français. Mais le texte anglais on ne l'a jamais vu."

Les écrivains que nous avons rencontrés sont eux aussi conscients de la nécessité de s'attacher à un seul contexte socio-culturel comme étant une condition nécessaire à la production littéraire. "C'est par l'écriture, dira un interviewé, c'est par son métier d'écrivain, que j'ai pris peu à peu conscience que je voulais écrire pour des hommes d'ici, et non pas pour le monde. C'est l'homme d'ici que je voulais toucher par ce que je faisais. C'est là que j'ai pris peu à peu conscience du contexte dans lequel je vivais."

Mais il se trouve des gens qui ont pour métier même de faire la traduction de l'anglais au français. On les trouve dans les agences de presse, dans les salles de rédaction de journaux, et de revues, dans les studios de post-synchronisation, à la Chambre des Communes. Il est évident que le travail de traduction comporte peu de création.

2. De l'anti-nationalisme à une prise de conscience nationale:

Chez nos interviewés, bon nombre de ceux qui ont à cœur les transformations sociales et politiques au Québec ont été anti-nationalistes dans leur jeunesse. Pour les uns, le pôle d'attraction était le monde anglo-saxon, pour les autres, c'était la France ou l'Europe. Un réalisateur nous a rapporté: "Je suis passé du théâtre à la peinture pour une question d'échange d'idées. En entrant dans le monde de la peinture, j'ai vécu dans un monde très européen. A l'époque, j'étais très anti-canadien-français. J'étais contre le conformisme, contre l'unité de pensée qu'il y avait ici."

Un interviewé dit être devenu séparatiste après avoir fait un stage comme annonceur bilingue dans une ville de l'Ouest du Canada.

"Politiquement, déclare un jeune régisseur, je me considère nationaliste, mais pas séparatiste. La compagnie pour laquelle je travaille est strictement française. Mais la langue technique utilisée est l'anglais. Le bureau des gouverneurs exige que les rapports quotidiens (logs) soient rédigés en langue anglaise. Les commandements dans les studios se font en anglais. Je tente moi-même à franciser ce vocabulaire. Je me sers d'un lexique publié par le ministère des affaires culturelles du Québec. Malheureusement, les commandements français sont souvent trop longs. Par ailleurs, la télévision française (R.T.F.) emploie les expressions anglaises (v.g., VTR, cue, log, etc.). En outre, dans le cas des émissions commanditées, le représentant du commanditaire est la plupart du temps de langue anglaise; pour se faire comprendre, les employés du poste sont obligés de parler anglais."

4. Des batailles contre les anglais à l'apprentissage de la langue anglaise:

Beaucoup de nos interviewés ont livré des batailles de rue aux Anglais lorsqu'ils étaient enfants. Un d'entre eux, qui avait quelques notions de chimie était membre d'un groupe et avait pour mission de fabriquer des petites 'bombes' destinées à exploser dans les groupes d'enfants anglais. Un autre interviewé nous a raconté que dans le quartier résidentiel de la Haute-Ville de Québec où il demeurait, leurs voisins étaient canadiens-anglais. "Les relations étaient assez tendues avec eux, dit-il."

Mais tous n'étaient pas hostiles à l'égard des Anglais dans leur jeunesse. A preuve cet interviewé qui a été encouragé dans sa famille à apprendre la langue anglaise: "J'ai appris l'anglais très jeune. A cinq ans, sur les genoux de mon père, j'ai appris à dire le mot 'the' correctement. Mon père m'a inculqué l'idée que l'anglais était très important. J'avais des amis anglais. De plus, je me perfectionnais à l'aide d'un dictionnaire."

5. De la connaissance de la langue anglaise à la prise de position pour l'unilinguisme au Québec:

Un certain nombre de nos interviewés qui ont eu l'occasion de travailler dans un milieu bilingue ou anglophone en sont ressortis avec une attitude négative à l'égard de la langue anglaise. Parmi eux, on compte des rédacteurs publicitaires, des journalistes-traducteurs, et des annonceurs bilingues.

Quelques autres considèrent comme un actif le fait de posséder la langue anglaise. Tel ce coordonnateur d'émission télévisées

qui a passé les vacances d'été dans sa jeunesse aux Etats-Unis: "Cela m'a permis d'apprendre l'anglais, dit-il." Et cet autre, un réalisateur de radio: "J'ai parfois des contacts avec des Anglais pendant mon travail, et je dois souvent traduire des petits communiqués de presse, etc. Je parle l'anglais mais je trouve que je manque de pratique. Je voudrais étudier l'espagnol, mais je trouve plus logique de commencer par l'anglais."

Les conflicts entre les créateurs et leurs patrons ou superviseurs sont réduits par le fait qu'ils partagent un sentiment d'appartenance au même groupe ethnique, ainsi qu'en témoigne un réalisateur: "Dans nos relations avec le patron, il y a peu d'émotivité, parce que nous appartenons à la même collectivité canadienne-française. Mes patrons ne m'ont jamais accusé d'être trop séparatiste dans mes émissions. C'est plutôt un jeu de cache-cache. Quand les patrons nous transmettent des plaintes, nous défendons notre point de vue..."

IV. INTERRUPTIONS DANS LA CARRIERE OU DANS LA FORMATION

1. Interruptions dans la formation:

Plusieurs regrettent d'avoir terminé leurs études trop tôt. D'autres considèrent qu'ils ont été mal orientés. Nous avons rencontré des gens assez jeunes en général (entre ving-cinq et trente-cinq ans). Mais tous n'avaient pas la même possibilité de revenir en arrière et d'entreprendre une discipline universitaire. Quelques-uns ont pu reprendre leurs études à plein temps. D'autres doivent se contenter de cours du soir, et de progresser ainsi à un rythme très lent. Un certain nombre ne peuvent suivre aucun cours à cause de l'irrégularité de leur horaire de travail ou encore parce qu'ils voyagent beaucoup.

2. Niveau de connaissances inadéquat et manque de diplômes face aux aspirations professionnelles:

Une personne peut vouloir retourner aux études lorsqu'elle n'est pas satisfaite de son rendement au travail. Un journaliste nous a rapporté: "... depuis longtemps je me posais des questions. Mon idée de retourner aux études a mûri longtemps. Au lieu de faire trois années de droit, j'aurais dû faire trois années de sciences sociales. Mais, à l'époque, je n'étais pas sensible aux sciences sociales. C'est en faisant du journalisme que j'en ai senti la nécessité."

Un scripteur s'est prononcé dans le même sens: "J'ai écrit des textes pour des émissions culturelles et éducatives... Mais je me sentais amateur... J'étais dans un milieu où on bavardait beaucoup; je me sentais moi-même bavardant beaucoup. A un moment donné, je me suis dit: ces problèmes, il faut les comprendre profondément. Et la seule façon de comprendre une société est de faire des sciences sociales."

3. Ceux qui voudraient mais ne peuvent pas revenir en arrière:

Une journaliste qui est mariée et qui a des enfants nous a laissé entendre qu'elle aimeraient bien se procurer une formation dans les sciences humaines. Mais ne possédant pas de B.A., cela serait trop long. Elle doit donc se contenter de suivre quelques cours à temps partiel.

Un réalisateur qui, dans sa jeunesse, n'avait pas apprécié pleinement la valeur des études et des diplômes, nous a déclaré:

"Quelques années après avoir laissé le collège, j'aurais voulu retourner aux études, mais il aurait fallu que je redevienne pensionnaire et je ne voulais absolument pas accepter les règlements d'un collège. J'en avais contre le système d'enseignement qui manquait de souplesse."

4. Cours du soir et satisfaction des aspirations professionnelles:

Les cours suivis le soir ne permettent à l'étudiant d'avancer que très lentement. Mais ceux qui ont le courage et la patience de se rendre jusqu'au bout en arrivent à se poser des questions sur l'orientation qu'ils auront à prendre éventuellement. S'ils viennent d'obtenir un baccalauréat ès arts, il leur est désormais possible de s'inscrire dans une faculté. Choisiront-ils de continuer leur carrière déjà amorcée et cesser d'étudier? Ou bien prendront-ils un chemin tout à fait différent?

Une artiste qui a mené concurremment pendant quelques années sa vie professionnelle et sa vie d'étudiante prend conscience qu'elle arrivera bientôt à un point tournant dans sa carrière. "Je prévois qu'à la fin de mon cours à l'université il y aura une bifurcation dans ma vie. J'en serai au point où j'aurai une option précise à prendre."

Un interviewé qui s'est inscrit au B.A. pour adultes se demande s'il réussira non seulement à terminer le B.A. mais aussi à obtenir un diplôme en histoire.

V. ORBITE DE LA CARRIERE

On a l'habitude de considérer l'orbite de la carrière à travers le temps. Ainsi, on dira tel joueur de baseball devra prendre sa

retraite vers tel âge. Ensuite, il ne pourra plus jouer aussi bien. Il devra songer à se trouver un autre travail. Cet autre travail peut être celui d'instructeur de baseball. Si le joueur de baseball doit cesser son activité lorsqu'il arrive à un certain âge, c'est parce qu'il n'a plus les qualités nécessaires pour bien fonctionner dans son travail. Les capacités d'une personne peuvent aller en croissant, puis, lorsqu'elles ont atteint un certain maximum, elles vont en décroissant.

Mais j'ai songé à une autre façon d'envisager l'orbite qui pourrait compléter l'orbite de la carrière à travers le temps. Il s'agit de l'orbite à un moment donné. Par exemple, un jeune professionnel pourra à un moment donné circuler dans un certain orbite. Il sera apte à fournir ses services dans plusieurs institutions. Tandis que certaines personnes ne travaillent que dans une seule institution, il s'en trouve d'autres qui peuvent être à l'emploi de plusieurs institutions. Ainsi, un journaliste pourra être scénariste à l'Office National du Film, tout en poursuivant son travail de journaliste.

J'ai imaginé les deux modèles ci-dessous pour illustrer ce que je veux dire:

Orbites à travers le temps

Orbite à un moment donné (pour un "créateur" de 25-40 ans)



Ces modèles sont loin d'être exhaustifs. Ils veulent plutôt suggérer une façon d'envisager la carrière de "créateurs". On pourrait se servir des mêmes modèles pour l'analyse d'autres carrières.

Bien entendu, une même personne à un moment donné ne pourra pas être présente dans tous les milieux de l'orbite. Ce qu'il faut retenir, c'est que au cours de sa vie active, une même personne pourra circuler d'un milieu à l'autre, en étant parfois présente dans plusieurs milieux à la fois.

Notons aussi les "satellites" constitués par des mouvements et des revues idéologiques.

A. L'orbite à un moment donné

1. L'orbite pour les annonceurs, les animateurs, les reporters et les comédiens:

Nous avons été mis en présence du cas d'un animateur de séries filmées qui est devenu successivement scénariste et metteur en scène. "Je n'aimais pas mon travail comme animateur, nous dit-il. J'en ai parlé au directeur de la production, et il m'a demandé de rester comme scénariste et réalisateur de films. J'ai accepté."

Un interviewé nous dit qu'il a fait du théâtre comme comédien et comme metteur en scène avant de devenir réalisateur à la télévision.

Le travail d'annonceur peut être un stage préparatoire à la réalisation d'émissions de radio: "Je fus employé comme annonceur dans plusieurs petits postes privés de la province. Eventuellement, je commençai à faire du travail de reporter. De là, on m'a offert un poste de réalisateur à la radio."

Les comédiens peuvent circuler dans un orbite constitué par la radio, la télévision, le théâtre et le cinéma. Un certain nombre de comédiens font des revenus supplémentaires en participant à des annonces commerciales à la radio, à la télévision et, plus rarement, dans les journaux.

2. L'orbite pour un rédacteur, un scripteur, un journaliste ou un écrivain:

Certain rédacteurs réussissent à faire correctement un travail qui exige d'eux peu de créativité. Moins le rédacteur a de capacités, plus son orbite est limité.

Il existe cependant un passage permettant à un rédacteur de devenir journaliste. Il y a aussi des journalistes qui ont écrit des textes pour la radio, la télévision, le cinéma ou le théâtre.

Les écrivains peuvent rarement vivre de leur plume. C'est pourquoi ils se cherchent un emploi qui conviendra à leurs aptitudes et leurs goûts. On trouve des écrivains qui gagnent leur vie comme rédacteur publicitaire, comme journaliste, comme scripteur, ou comme réalisateur de radio ou de télévision. Certains se considèrent chanceux d'avoir obtenu un travail intéressant, peu exigeant et qui leur permet de continuer à écrire. A preuve ce témoignage d'un réalisateur: "C'a été une grande chance dans ma vie que j'obtienne un poste de réalisateur. Je n'ai pas beaucoup d'obligations dans mon travail. Il faut dire que j'avais déjà écrit pour la radio et le cinéma. Mon travail de réalisateur m'a permis d'avoir des contacts intéressants. J'aime beaucoup ce métier. C'est peut-être le seul que je puisse faire."

B. L'orbite à travers le temps

3. Les activités parascolaires:

Avant de passer au stade professionnel, les créateurs ont eu à passer par une période de formation, une période d'apprentissage. L'école, le collège et l'université ne suffisent pas à eux seuls à former des comédiens, des écrivains ou des metteurs en scène.

Quelques créateurs ont fait du théâtre alors qu'ils étaient au collège. Cette expérience a pu les conduire vers le métier de

de comédien ou celui de réalisateur, voici le cas d'un réalisateur de radio: "Quand j'étais adolescent, je suivais des cours d'art dramatique et je faisais du théâtre amateur. J'ai été membre de différentes petites troupes qui sont disparues les unes après les autres. J'ai aussi suivi des cours d'annonceur à la radio."

Quant à la préparation pour le métier de journaliste, par des activités parascolaires, voici ce que nous a rapporté un interviewé: "Pendant mes années de collège, j'ai fait partie des scouts et de la J.E.C. La J.E.C. m'a certainement beaucoup influencé en me donnant une mentalité; qu'a été une influence en profondeur que je ne pourrais pas expliquer. A la fin de mon cours, j'ai fait partie de l'Ordre de Bon Temps... J'ai aussi participé au journalisme étudiant; j'ai écrit une série d'articles dans le journal des étudiants du collège. C'est là que j'ai surtout commencé à m'intéresser au journalisme: Je lisais régulièrement les articles du Devoir." (Voir aussi "Leur formation professionnelle")

4. Possibilités et limites de l'avancement dans ou hors la profession:

L'avancement dans ou hors la profession est lié au niveau d'instruction, mais surtout, peut-être, à la compétence et à l'expérience. On peut avancer en circulant dans l'orbite ou en sortant de l'orbite. Les fonctions du créateur qui circule dans l'orbite peuvent changer au cours de sa vie. L'annonceur peut devenir reporter puis réalisateur. Le journaliste peut aspirer à devenir chroniqueur, puis directeur du journal. Le comédien sera peut-être tenté d'écrire des scénarios de films puis de devenir metteur en scène.

... On peut vouloir sortir de l'orbite parce que l'on n'a pas de succès, ou encore, parce qu'il ayant fait une brillante carrière, on veut se lancer dans un autre domaine. Un créateur qui n'a pas de succès songera peut-être à se procurer des diplômes universitaires et tenter sa chance dans l'enseignement. Par contre, celui qui, encore jeune, aura atteint le plus haut poste possible dans sa profession, n'hésitera peut-être pas à faire ses preuves dans un autre domaine.

5. Le Couronnement d'une carrière

Un comédien, un cinéaste ou un romancier auront couronné leur carrière lorsqu'ils auront acquis une réputation internationale. D'autres ont des ambitions qui ne dépassent pas les limites territoriales du Québec: un annonceur pourra terminer sa carrière en devenant réalisateur ou administrateur d'un poste de radio.

VI. VOCATION DANS LA CARRIERE

1. Le créateur dans la société:

Un interviewé définit comme suit son rôle dans la société: "L'écrivain n'est pas autre chose qu'une sorte de flambeau. Il a un rôle à jouer sur le plan de l'aventure de l'homme global, c'est-à-dire la perpétuation et la redécouverte constante de la conscience. Son rôle est d'être un éveilleur."

Nous avons trouvé une semblable conscience sociale chez un cinéaste: "Les besoins du Québec sont en transformation et se multiplient, en matière de cinéma comme pour le reste. Il y a là une fonction du cinéaste pour la société... Quant à mes films, ils ont tous porté la marque d'une interrogation par rapport au destin individuel et collectif. J'espère que mes spectateurs comprennent ce que j'ai voulu transmettre par mes films et qu'ils les apprécieront, mais je ne suis

pas sûr de réussir de communiquer ma pensée... J'espère cependant y arriver." (Voir aussi "Vouloir produire une bonne émission...")

2. L'ennui au travail:

... A côté de créateurs qui ont un idéal, il se trouve des employés à la radio et dans le monde de la publicité qui s'ennuient au travail. Ce sont des gens dont la partie créatrice dans leurs tâches est réduite. Un annonceur qui lit de courts textes écrits par d'autres se rendra vite compte qu'il donne peu de lui-même dans son travail. Un rédacteur publicitaire pourra se plaindre que son travail manque d'idéal, surtout s'il s'agit d'adapter en Français des annonces conçues par des Américains ou des Canadiens-anglais.

3. Vie professionnelle et vie globale:

... Lorsqu'une personne ne réussit pas à s'épanouir dans son travail, elle pourra chercher à se trouver d'autres centres d'intérêt tout en conservant son gagne-pain.

... Un journaliste nous a expliqué comment il compensait pour le peu d'engagement qu'exige de lui son travail: "Je considère que mon travail me procure un plaisir social plutôt que professionnel. Je participe beaucoup à la vie de "gang" chez les journalistes. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles j'aime ce métier. Parce que professionnellement, c'est frustrant.... A moins d'être rédacteur-en-chef, on ne peut pas s'exprimer vraiment. On ne peut pas toujours dire ce qu'on pense."

... Et cet autre, un ancien rédacteur publicitaire: "Ma vie professionnelle ne pouvait être qu'une partie secondaire de ma vie globale. Ma vie professionnelle n'était qu'une base, un instrument, avec ceci que j'avais une certaine conscience professionnelle... J'ai donc cherché à m'épanouir en dehors de mon travail..."

VII. ASPIRATIONS (rêves, projets d'avenir, etc.) ET LIMITATIONS

1. Se perfectionner par des études:

En général, on est conscient de l'utilité de poursuivre des études. Mais ceux qui retournent aux études semblent vouloir sortir de l'orbite des créateurs. Un scripteur nous dira: "J'aimerais jouer dans l'enseignement un rôle conforme à mon idéal. En Histoire, il y a quelque chose à faire: elle a été jusqu'ici très mal enseignée au Québec. Mais pour l'enseigner, j'aurais besoin d'un diplôme."

Un annonceur qui n'ambitionne pas changer d'occupation nous a déclaré: "Je n'étudie pas à l'université pour ma promotion personnelle à l'intérieur de l'institution pour laquelle je travaille, car le métier d'annonceur n'exige pas de connaissances... Ce qui ne veut pas dire que je veux abandonner mon travail, car je serai ici jusqu'à l'âge de ma retraite. Mais lorsque je serai diplômé, en demeurant employé permanent, je pourrai faire quelques heures d'enseignement par semaine."

2. Vouloir produire une bonne émission, un bon film ou écrire une oeuvre de valeur:

Un réalisateur de radio nous a fait part de son ambition de réaliser des émissions de qualité: "Je voudrais continuer comme réalisateur et acquérir le plus d'expérience possible. Je voudrais arriver tôt ou tard à Radio-Canada. Ce qui me fait peur est que c'est un poste d'état... C'est trop bureaucratique. Je travaille présentement pour un poste de radio privé... J'ai été déçu quand je suis arrivé ici, car on y a une conception trop commerciale. Le Culturel est réduit au strict minimum. Je voudrais travailler à relever la masse."

Les remarques suivantes illustrent comment un cinéaste est préoccupé par l'idée de produire un bon film: "Je ne suis pas sûr que le

cinéma puisse faire déboucher sur une communication avec l'ensemble de la collectivité. C'est cette communication avec la société, la communauté, que je veux atteindre, mais c'est difficile. Une autre raison qui me pousse à faire des films qui vont faire marque, c'est que je veux que quelque chose de moi reste après ma mort. Je veux avoir rendu service à la collectivité. Je veux communiquer avec elle." (Voir aussi Vocation dans la carrière.)

3. Le sort individuel lié au sort institutionnel:

Un réalisateur de télévision nous dit que son avenir est lié à la possibilité qu'il aura de réaliser des émissions sans subir de censure: "Je n'ai pas de projets d'avenir.... Tout dépend de la censure qu'on exercera sur moi. Si on exerce trop de pressions, je voudrai en sortir." Mais il ajoute que son incertitude face à l'avenir est conforme à la nature même de son travail: "J'ai appris à ne pas avoir de projets dans mon métier. Si j'avais des angoisses de projets, je serais un gars brûlé, parce que j'aurais trop de déceptions à ce moment-là. Il faut exploiter au maximum les circonstances. Le métier de réalisateur me passionne... Heureusement, il me donne la possibilité d'organiser de différentes façons. Il m'apprend à être souple dans l'organisation. Il m'a fallu apprendre des techniques d'organisation. Il faut accepter d'étudier rapidement et de se soumettre à de nouvelles techniques."

Un journaliste nous a confié qu'il n'hésiterait pas à travailler pour un journal de gauche, si jamais il s'en fondait un: "Au Nouveau Journal, c'était l'idéal, parce que le journal était fait par les journalistes. Et les gens qui n'étaient pas du métier n'avaient rien à dire du contenu du journal. On ne subissait pas les pressions des annonceurs. Le problème peut être résolu dans la mesure où un journal

est indépendant. Ainsi, si un syndicat publiait le journal, ce problème ne se poserait pas, parce que les gros annonceurs ont plus de choses à cacher que les syndicats. S'il se partait un journal comme ça demain, c'est-à-dire un quotidien de gauche, j'**irais.**"

4. Vivre au Québec ou vivre ailleurs:

Un cinéaste, à qui on offre la possibilité de faire une carrière internationale, hésite à cause de ses attaches familiales: "On me propose de travailler à l'étranger. Je pourrais me faire une carrière en demeurant environ quinze ans à l'étranger. On m'offre de monter une entreprise de co-production de films. Je ne sais pas encore ce que je vais faire... Si j'accepte, cela implique une vie d'exil... Il y aurait beaucoup de difficultés au point de vue familial, car je serais séparé de ma famille. C'est ce qui me porte à refuser ce travail..."

Certains trouvent possible de mener une lutte pour des transformations sociales, tout en pouvant s'assurer d'un travail rémunérateur: "En ce qui me concerne, ma participation à des mouvements idéologiques est une liberté que je me paye facilement: je vis bien avec mon salaire de producteur. Je suis dans la jeune génération qui a pressenti le problème psychologique d'une certaine décadence du milieu et qui a réagi contre cette décadence. A partir de là, je suis devenu critique des institutions..."

Un autre nous dira: "Je ne peux pas concevoir ma vie en dehors du Québec. Si j'étais un bourgeois, ça serait différent. Je suis un produit de la classe ouvrière et je reste un produit de la classe ouvrière. Je crois aux classes sociales... Trotsky disait que le prolétariat n'a pas de culture. Ce n'est que dans ce sens que je suis sorti de la classe prolétarienne."

... Un journaliste trouve lui aussi possible d'émettre ses idées sans trop compromettre son travail: "J'ai l'intention de poursuivre ma carrière dans le Québec à tout prix. Je ne vis pas sur une corde raide, car je peux écrire dans une revue de gauche comme je le veux. En même temps, je peux me gagner de l'argent en écrivant pour la radio et le cinéma."

... Un étudiant qui a fait depuis quelques années déjà son entrée dans le monde des lettres nous a dit: "J'ai l'intention de rester au Québec, mais je veux faire mon doctorat en Europe. J'ai besoin d'un bain de culture, de voir de vieilles pierres. Parce que nos forêts et nos neiges, je les ai aimées et je les aime encore; mais à un moment donné, c'est très lourd à porter. En outre, je vois aussi en Europe un nouveau dynamisme. Et je me sens plus près à ce dynamisme que de celui que je pourrais trouver à Buffalo ou à Kansas City. Finalement, il y a deux choses qui m'intéressent: le Québec et le monde."

5. Le sort individuel lié au sort collectif:

... Un ancien metteur en scène nous a déclaré: "Je suis convaincu que les arts m'ont intéressé dans la mesure où cela représentait pour moi une liberté que mon contexte social ne m'appartait pas... Je ne me souviens pas d'avoir entendu parler au classique d'autres professions que celles d'avocat, de médecin ou de curé. Je pense que j'aurais fini mon classique si j'avais eu d'autres perspectives."

Un écrivain engagé considère l'éventualité où il partirait du Québec: "Si je sentais qu'il se produit une régression dans la mutation sociale amorcée au Québec, la tentation que j'éprouverais ou que je sens en ce moment que je pourrais éprouver serait celle de fouter le camp. En disant cela, je ne me sens pas lâche. Ce que je sens,

c'est que je n'ai qu'une vie et que cela est une question personnelle. C'est très joli de se consacrer, comme on le fait, à des causes, mais si on n'arrive pas à décréter le Français langue officielle du Québec, si on n'arrive pas à résoudre, d'une façon plus générale, tout un réseau de problèmes, si le Québec n'acquiert pas un statut singulièrement particulier... en vue d'aboutir à une culture qui soit digne de culture globale, digne de toutes les cultures globales du monde, si ça ne change pas, ou si ça va dans le sens d'une dégradation, à ce moment là, j'aurais la tentation de partir, même si j'aime beaucoup le pays. A ce moment-là, j'irais en France, au Mexique, ou, même aux Etats-Unis!"

Cette condition de transformation sociale, un autre interviewé la partage: "Au sujet de l'avenir, je mise sur la transformation radicale de notre société. Je vis dans une espèce d'état d'attente, d'expectative. Je m'inspire de l'espoir que le Québec devienne une société politiquement indépendante, socialiste et humaniste. Si ceci se produit -- et je crois que ça se produira, sans en être absolument sûr -- je pense que dans cette société, je trouverai enfin ma place. Si ceci ne se produit pas, je ne pourrai plus vivre dans la société québécoise. Si je m'ex-patrie, ça sera à ce moment-là un repli sur moi-même... En ce moment, je lie mon avenir à un avenir collectif. Si je perds en faisant cela, je ne le lierai à aucun avenir collectif et je le restreindrai à un avenir personnel."

Enfin, rappelons ces paroles d'un interviewé qui veut faire voir la différence entre les écrivains québécois de sa génération et ceux de la génération précédente: "Il y a une différence radicale entre les écrivains de ma génération et ceux de la génération précédente: la conscience des problèmes politiques. Le gars de la génération d'Alain

Grandbois s'empressaient de fuir... Je me suis refusé à cela, pas par nationalisme étroit, mais par une volonté d'enracinement dans le contexte ici, par une volonté d'assumer l'homme d'ici."

CHAPTER IXUNION OFFICERS STUDYING AT THE LABOR COLLEGE

There have been a good many studies of labor leaders, from the days of the Webbs' History of Trade Unionism (circa 1920), in which they give the classic statement of what happens to the man who leaves his work-bench and comrades and wears a suit every day. Our nine French Canadians, seven English-speaking (of whom one a Scandinavian by birth) Canadians and two Black Africans (who will go back to Africa) are all in various stages of this change. There is not one of them who likes the work which the members of his union do, and which he has done and may still be doing some of the time. Only two ever learned an old-fashioned skilled trade (tin-smithing, machinist), and those two worked at the trade for a fairly short time. Both were dismissed because of a depression in their trade, and immediately got work of a less skilled kind. All of them left school in the mid- to late-teens and went to work. It was what was expected in their families. The three who attended 'college' all spent some time in a religious community; none speaks of it with any enthusiasm. Oddly enough, these men got active in the union almost by pressure; they were a little more literate than other more active union members and were set to keeping records and examining contracts; they became secretaries. Others were interested in people, took leadership in sports, social life, and union campaigns.

A teacher at the labor college called these men "mobile", the current word for "ambitious." Their attendance at the labor college is a step toward changing from the occupation of industrial worker to that of union leader. As Webb and many others have shown, the professional union leader is half mobilizer for conflict, half bureaucrat. In the labor college it is the bureaucratic aspect that is developed. They study sociology, politics, economics, and history. Some of the men were a little reluctant to talk to our interviewers; those who talked freely -- the majority -- seemed to like their studies, and to believe they were important. The importance, one of them said, was not in any immediate prospect of application, but in an enlargement of one's knowledge for the future. To stay in office (for many of these men

are periodically elected) one must be effective in meetings, in handling grievances and in negotiating contracts. There is a general belief that, while a man may start without education, he had better get it as he goes along. Some of the men, stimulated by their labor college experience, talk of taking college courses when they get back home. One regrets he lives too far from a university to think of it.

I think we can say of them that they are ambitious, but that the ambitious are not dramatic. They mean to improve themselves where they are by becoming better union officers and by getting whatever education is necessary for that occupation.

To judge from the experience of these men, the daily affairs of unions do not require bilingualism. The English-speaking union leaders have simply had no experience of bilingualism. Nearly all of the French have met English at work. Certain unions are anglophone at the national level, although the locals may be French-speaking. The Quebec unions, once known as the Syndicats Catholiques Nationals have changed 'Catholiques' to "Canadiennes" in their names. One of our subjects speaks of how formerly under the leadership of one Charpentier the Syndicats were strongly dominated by the church, and an 'aumônier' had to approve all actions of a local. I (Hughes) was witness of the early steps in the transformation of the syndicats from a docile into a more militant organization. Our few French-Canadian union officers appear to combine strong union sentiments with solid national sentiments. But they do not show patriotic passion of the young who work for radio and television.

The movement for professionalizing union leadership is evidently under way, but it has not yet gone far enough so that a young man goes to school and university especially to train for it. That time may come, as it did in Germany under the Weimar Republic. When it does, one may wonder what will happen to these self-made union leaders, who started as workmen and amateur union people and now seek modest advancement by study. None of our subjects worked for a union of professionals or white collar people; their leaders should also be studies to see what training they get and whether they, too, will make unionism a profession. There is a final step which professionalism apparently

has not taken in the unions; men do not grow up in one union and then hire themselves out to another. A man is bound more or less to the union which first put him in office. That final step may occur, and the courses of labor leaders may become a part of the regular curriculum of universities.

CHAPTER XTHE CAREERS OF LEADERS OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT:
LA JEUNESSE ETUDIANTE CATHOLIQUE

It has happened again and again that a social movement has deeply affected a generation of young people. It may affect not merely their youthful activities, but the turn taken by their careers. In some measure, our union leaders have had their careers altered by a movement which has become formally organized. The people who were the full-time lay leaders of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique are a more striking case.

The adults who encourage a social movement among the young know not what they do; likewise the professionals who succeed in stirring up the laity beyond a certain point. (Many are the school teachers who regret having organized parents to take an interest in the schools.) Action Catholique, a world movement towards an apostolate of Catholique laity, was unusually successful in Quebec. The Catholic syndicates were promoted by the church to 'faire face' to the religiously neutral socialistic labor unions in the Catholic countries of Europe. In North America they took root only in French Quebec; as they did they too became more militant and eventually the lay leaders paid little attention to their chaplains. This is not to say that the members were any less Catholic, but the movement's direction changed.

The Cooperative movement also became a force in Quebec, strongly pushed by some clergy. The Caisse Populaire has become a people's bank, in the same way that similar Credit Unions became the bank of common people in certain European countries. The convention of the Caisses Populaires is the occasion for reading of papers on social and economic trends and policy. I do not know who the professionals are in the Caisse Populaire movement, but there must be some. Nor do I know what their general spirit and aims may be or whether they have worked their way in the university system with their philosophy. There was no special appeal to a generation in the cooperative movement.

The various Jeunesse movements, however, did appeal to a generation, and especially to a generation of students. A hand was laid on the shoulders of bright, young people; they were given a role to play. They played it; and perhaps took it more seriously than some of their clerical leaders intended. But we are on ticklish ground, for probably they took their role less seriously than some ardent young priests had hoped.

At any rate, so many references were made concerning the subsequent careers of J.E.C. leaders that we interviewed quite a number of them.

JEUNESSE ETUDIANTE CATHOLIQUE IN QUEBEC - A SHORT HISTORY

The JEC, which was organized by the hierarchy of the Church in Quebec in 1934, was part of the world-wide movement initiated by Pius XI and further encouraged by Pius XII under the general title of Action Catholique. Its first model was the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique in which the workers were to carry the apostolic mission to other workers. So, in the same way were students to carry the message to their fellow students. Action Catholique was part of a world effort in the Catholic Church to rediscover its apostolic, early Christian roots and to revive a sense of dedication among the faithful and to convert the not-so-faithful. To this end, the collaboration of the laity was sought.

In Quebec, the Church was faced with two problems, or the same problem in two interrelated aspects: Because of a general decline in interest in the priesthood and the sacred life, and a corresponding turning of young people to secular, scientific interests and professions, it was becoming increasingly difficult to insure enough clergy (nuns, brothers, and priests) to carry on the multitude of tasks undertaken and practically monopolized up to that time by the Catholic Church in Quebec: schools, hospitals, social welfare, in addition to regular parish work. This fact was not serious in itself, but was also a symptom, it was felt, of a falling off of the faith in general. What was needed was a revival of religious interest and feeling on one

hand, and the enlistment of a dedicated Catholic laity to assist in Church tasks, on the other.¹

In Conversion au Réel, published in 1948, by Germain-M. Lalande, a priest, active in the organization of the JEC, points out that Quebec's problem in bringing about this revival was not so severe as in many countries of Europe, thanks largely to the church control of education and to the fact that the materialistic, secular philosophies of the modern day had not penetrated to Quebec to the degree to be found in Europe.² Still, he does find evidence in the young people in the 30's and 40's of increasing lassitude and indifference toward their religion.³ And one of the priests whom we interviewed as an informant concerning the JEC remarked as an aside that:

"Un de ses neveux entrera aussi comme prêtre et sa mère, qui est la soeur du sujet, a beaucoup de peine. Il (le sujet) a expliqué que 'nos parents' avaient une vision de foi plus évidente que chez les gens d'aujourd'hui. De plus, le prêtre a un statut social qui est moins en relief maintenant."

The JEC in Quebec was begun among the young people in high schools and in the collèges. Nuns and priests chose the ablest students, those showing leadership abilities⁴ and organized groups, consisting of natural leaders and their followers, for the purpose of studying, reading and discussing the role of the layman in church affairs. From this study were to emerge programs of action for helping students to live by Christian principles in their everyday lives. These young people were given considerable responsibility in organizing and proselytising other students, as well as in examining problems and organizing programs of action. Soon they were setting up permanent committees to study the problems (social and philosophical) which

1. We had conversations with a number of informants about the JEC as well as agree interviewers.
2. Conversion au Réel, Germain-M. Lalande C.S.C., Bibliothèque d'Action Catholique, FIDES, Montréal, 1948, pp. 35-38.
3. Ibid., pp. 39-43
4. Ibid., pp. 66-. This is a careful discussion of how to find and recognize the "natural leader" among students and how to organize teams.

students face.⁵ The ciné-clubs studied movies as an expression of modern thought and a means of exploring man's spirit; a Comité des Loisirs was concerned with Christian means of using leisure time under modern conditions, and the Committee on Liturgy tried to find ways in which the layman could participate in church rituals on a more enlightened basis.

As time went by, however, the JEC became more of an intellectual and social than an apostolic movement. The Church had picked as leaders the most capable and talented natural leaders. But perhaps with the modern, secular world in which young French Canadians were becoming interested already. Furthermore, in encouraging these young people to make careful and thorough studies of the social milieu, the Church was providing at least the beginnings of a social scientific attitude and training as well as offering a platform for learning the arts of mass communication and persuasion. Whatever the reasons, the JEC was soon discovering a whole new world of ideas. Probably the most frequent comment made by our group of interviewees is that the JEC opened their eyes to the world around them and to new social ideas. One respondent said:

"A l'époque j'étais très occupé à lire tous les romanciers dont je n'avais pas entendu parler; ... tout à coup j'ai découvert André Malraux et tous les autres auteurs modernes, et j'étais extrêmement occupé à les lire. Je passais mes nuits à lire, c'était un période où je passais mes journées à organiser et à parler, à verbaliser, à circuler dans les diocèses."

The JEC went beyond what the Church hierarchy had intended and in the wrong direction. Two purges of the leadership, the last in 1961, turned the movement away from the intellectual, social, and humanist direction it had taken to more traditional and religious concerns.

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5. This definition that everyone involved in the JEC should, at each stage, make a "noyautage du Milieu" or a careful study of the facts, then arrive at the truth of the situation, and finally to act, was a constant and very important training process for the members. "Voir, Juger, Agir", see *Ibid.*, pp. 256-270.

SIGNIFICANCE OF JEC TO OUR RESEARCH

Because these people who grew up in the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique seem to represent a good proportion of the leadership of the technological and social change occurring in Quebec at the moment, and since there is evidence that membership in the JEC was most important in forming their ideas, we interviewed 13 members, ranging in age from 25 to 45, on 11 of whom we have biographical data, the other two being used as informants, primarily. Of these 11, two were priests who worked with the movement and their remarks also are valuable largely because of their perspective on the JEC, not because of their experience within it.

BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS: WHO WERE THE JECISTES?

Of the nine members on whom we have complete data, and who were not priests, five were women and four were men. Seven of the nine were the oldest of several children, which suggests that they may have been accustomed early in life to leadership and responsibility. They were almost entirely children of the petite bourgeoisie, their fathers included: three merchants, 1 farmer, 1 commis-voyageur, 1 postal clerk, and 1 mechanic, in 7 cases. The other two fathers were an engineer, suggesting higher economic status, and a laborer, indicating lower. All of the men interviewed, including the informants (6 in all) had the cours classique to the B.A. and two of the five women accomplished this. The other three women had at least grade 12 with a little extra in the way of special courses. They are, then, a group with higher than average education, although not coming from privileged backgrounds, and there is evidence that the church assisted in keeping these leaders in school although this was perhaps more true for the boys than for the girls since as one interviewee reported, "Dans ce temps-là, les filles disaient: 'c'est pas important d'aller à l'université. Quand t'as passé par la JEC, il y a beaucoup de portes qui s'ouvrent!'"

A man who was a most important layman in the movement describes the members as "some of the best young minds in Canada". A priest long associated with the movement tried to analyze the kinds of students who were most attracted by the JEC:

"Ces jeunes sont allés vers la JEC car c'était alors ce qu'est maintenant le syndicalisme étudiant. Ce genre de personnes, on le retrouve maintenant dans le syndicalisme étudiant. Ils avaient le goût de structurer la société; le mouvement leur permettait de s'exprimer. Ils sont allés vers ce mouvement en tant que mouvement et non en tant qu'action chrétienne. Aujourd'hui, entre le syndicalisme étudiant et la JEC, les objectifs sont très différents et bien marqués. Quand il existe les deux mouvements dans une même école, les jeunes gens qui sont de la trempe des anciens jecistes vont plutôt vers le syndicalisme."

They are a group still young or just entering middle age, since our oldest interviewee was born in 1925 (now 41 years old) and our youngest was born in 1940 (now 26 years old). All except one of our interviewees was at some time a permanent employee of the JEC, their employment lasting usually between two and four years, although one man remained for 17 years. As a career, then, it was preeminently a young person's career, and a very short one at that. The JEC experience appears to have had considerable meaning to our interviewees on at least two levels: (1) as a personal experience and (2) as a career.

JEC: THE NATURE OF THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

1. Intellectual awakening:

That the activity in the JEC opened a world of ideas and led to an emphasis on intellectualism has already been mentioned. There was evidently a great sense of excitement about this, and several interviewees mentioned the summer camps or retreats as the stimulus of this awakening. It is interesting to compare the impressions of a priest who was chaplain of one of those camps with the student reaction! The priest, whose first contact with the JEC was as a chaplain reports that:

"... cela a été la découverte de sa vie. Il a découvert le sens apostolique des filles du camps. A cette époque, la JEC était 'catholiqué' et apostolique. Pour ces jeunes filles ce camp était une semaine de changement merveilleux dans leur vie. Cela les engageait pour l'année. Les camps étaient à la base de la JEC."

A woman, later a diocesan director, says of her first camp experiences:

"Ces camps ont été pour elle une véritable découverte. Elle a d'abord ainsi découvert Montréal qu'elle ne connaissait pas. Puis, les philosophes, lors des discussions, les chansonniers; bref, elle a découvert tout un monde intellectuel nouveau qui l'a beaucoup attirée."

In connection it is important to note that in many remote areas and small towns or schools the JEC was the only agency concerned with ideas, or with cultural activities. As a young woman who went to collège in New Brunswick explained concerning the function of the JEC there:

"Au collège, il consistait à promouvoir des choses non-spirituelles mais culturelles: Cinéma, Journalisme. Elle se demande même ce que le catholicisme venait y faire. Il n'y avait personne qui s'occupait de ces choses culturelles là-bas, de sorte que c'était devenu un peu leur rôle."

And a man from a small college in a small town in Quebec reports:

"L'équipe de la JEC était en charge de tous les services parascolaires du collège. Le conseil des étudiants fonctionnait même à l'intérieur de la JEC. Ce mouvement servait d'organisation globale de la vie étudiante."

This interviewee mentions the newspaper, the ciné-clubs, jeunesse musicales, as examples of the kind of activities which were promoted through the JEC.

Ideas alone, however, do not explain the ferment which the movement generated among its members and several interviewees tried to touch the emotional satisfactions which were part of the experience. For example,

"Je pense que la JEC répondait à un besoin de se donner que les adolescentes ont, de se donner à un mouvement et peut-être aussi au besoin d'être en charge des responsabilités dans une société, qui est le couvent ou le collège. Il y a une chose qui me semble très importante... c'est que c'étaient des gens qui étaient préoccupés de

l'essentiel... L'essentiel c'est les valeurs spirituelles contre les valeurs matérielles... nous avions des responsabilités réelles vis-à-vis de la préparation d'une pensée qui a fait évoluer le milieu étudiant..."

2. Broadening of Perspectives: Humanism, Anti-Nationalism, the Personal Religious Crisis:

One of the marks of the Jeciste is his concern for and interest in human problems. As one of the priests of the movement remarked, "Celles qui ont fait de la JEC sont les plus éveillées sur la plan paroissial et sur les problèmes humains de l'époque." And a lay leader feels that the effect of the JEC on many of its intelligent and vigorous members was to give them a broader human perspective, whatever their later professions.

Another view, perhaps related, for which the Jeciste is generally known is his anti-nationalism. One interviewee said, "Ce qui m'est resté comme souvenir de la Centrale (of the JEC) c'est que le nationalisme n'existant pas, comme si je n'avais jamais entendu parler de ça." Another commented that many in the JEC were "inoculated against extreme nationalism", and a third explained this in saying:

"Le mouvement était alors très anti-nationaliste. Il était contre l'action nationale, la St-Jean-Baptiste, etc. Les jeunes gens sentaient alors que c'étaient des choses qui n'avaient aucun débouché possible. Le contexte nationaliste était surtout une forteresse du clergé..."

It is notable that having started out as apostles, many JEC members sooner or later felt the necessity to re-examine their own faith and many of them abandoned at least the outward religious observances. One of our interviewees described the evolution in her own thought, which began when she was very young and pious, observing all the rituals with dedication. As she grew older,

"Elle a fait une découverte plus riche de la vie chrétienne une fois dans la JEC. Dans les derniers temps, elle avait adopté une attitude beaucoup plus critique. Elle trouvait les prêtres assez conformistes et dit qu'une fois sorti du mouvement, on ne les revoit plus. Mais elle les apprécie tout de même comme hommes de valeur."

At the time of their marriage, she and her husband still practiced their religion and had a richly liturgical wedding. Gradually, however, they began to ask themselves more and more questions about their faith;

"Elle avait l'impression qu'elle se faisait croire que la vie chrétienne la faisait vivre. Elle avait l'impression d'utiliser ce thème de vie chrétienne comme une soupe. 'On se rend compte que la notion de bonheur, de souffrance, la religion nous les fait accepter et nous fait passer à côté des moyens vérifiables. La religion maintient un climat d'acceptation et enlève tout esprit combattif.'"

For several years she and her husband have not practiced their religion, but hope to do so again on a different basis.

Asked about this tendency of many JEC members to question or abandon their faith, one of our priest informants suggested that this was because many of the leaders came into the movement for non-religious reasons in the first place. The other of our priest informants said, "Pas suffisamment d'amour de Dieu mais surtout l'amour du milieu étudiant." This analysis, reminiscent of Abou Ben Adam's dream, brings us back to the Jeciste concern for human problems with which we began this section and which, in the end, produced the purges that changed the direction of the JEC from its intellectual-social problems bent to its strictly apostolic emphasis of today.

3. Social Cementing: Friends, Co-workers, and Spouses:

A final widely general personal response to the JEC experience which seems noteworthy is that the close working relationships, the sense of dedication and involvement in meaningful work which they shared led to building of the closest of personal relationships. All except two of our interviewees married other JEC members, most of them still see old friends from the JEC on a regular social basis, and as one woman put it, "ce sont sans doute les amies de la JEC qui sont restées les plus chères. C'est une expérience qui unit." It is also to be noted that quite often when one-time members of the JEC wish to begin new ventures, such as founding research organizations as two of our interviewees did (two separate research groups), they choose their confreres of the JEC to collaborate with.

JEC: THE CAREER

1. Selection and Training:

Those who became lay directors or leaders of the JEC were in the first instance chosen by the priests or nuns in the schools. According to one priest, the "natural leader, so chosen should be a person, already a member of a consistent group, who could and did decide issues for the group and could persuade the group to follow his views. This person might not be an obvious leader -- one who talks a great deal, who amuses the group with jokes, or even who is notably popular. We do not know to what extent this formula was followed, but whatever the criteria of selection, the process was very similar to that already in use for trying to recruit young people in the schools for the priesthood and the religious orders. It would be surprising, then, if there was not some sense of vocation in the young people who accepted the responsibility offered them. Several of the interviewees said that they 'consecrated' so-and-so many years to the JEC, another taught for a year in order to be able to work for the JEC, where salaries were too low to live on and she had no independant source of income. Like most occupations defined as having a considerable "vocational" element, the JEC paid badly! For example, in the 1950's, an editor of "François" made \$25 per week and a diocesan president made \$45-50 per week.

Once having been selected, and persuaded that he had a vocation to this work, the student normally went through a period of training. He became part of a discussion group, he went to a summer camp or two, participated in retreats. Then he became active in his own school in organizing such extracurricular activities as ciné-clubs, newspapers, folk-singing groups, student councils, and in the general effort to convert his fellow student. If he seemed promising, and it is to be remembered that all his training and activity take place under the surveillance of the clergy, he would be offered a permanent, paying position with the JEC either when he finished secondary school, or was ready to leave the collège.

In spite of this preparation, however, the training continued on the job, and several interviewees complained that they were given post with more responsibility than they were ready for, for example a young girl of 19 who was given the duties of administrator of the diocesan federation. Basically, however, they had continuous training, on the job, in all kinds of administrative and organizational tasks, but most importantly for the future of Quebec, in the careful study of different social environments and problems. "Avec la JEC, il a eu le goût des sciences humaines car leur principale méthode de travail était alors l'enquête qui est aujourd'hui de sondage." This step was considered and taught to the young people as the necessary first step which enabled them to understand the situation and the people with whom they were dealing. Once 'seen' and 'judged' a comprehensive plan for helping and persuading their fellow students of the necessity and personal value of the Christian life could be devised. The plan or plans formulated, then, had to be sold, other student had to be persuaded, through personal contacts, through public speaking and through journalism.

"La JEC pour moi, ça a changé mon allure et mon travail de groupe et mon travail communautaire. C'est là que j'ai pressenti ma facilité de communiquer par groupes et ça m'a donné la capacité de donner, quoiqu'on ne fait pas abstraction de soi-même pendant quatre ans."

Since, in the theory of the movement it was most important that this work be done by students for other students -- that they help each other -- it was inevitable that great responsibility be given to people, some of whom were not ready for it. In the theory and practice of the movement can be seen most of the contingencies of a career in the JEC.

2. Career Contingencies:

One of the primary problems of a JEC career was that the ideal posed for the work, life and thought of the Jeciste was difficult and contained a contradiction. Both of the priests pinpointed a basic conflict in the movement, which is also present, obviously in the career and the work itself. "La JEC a toujours été torturée par ces deux objectifs du plan temporel et du spirituel." A JEC worker adds,

"C'était un idéal assez difficile à vivre pour une majorité; Incarnation du spirituel et du temporel et il faut être assez habile intellectuellement pour faire les joints." The way in which the ideal revealed its inner conflict in practice was described by a man who was director:

"On reprochait à la JEC d'être plus humanitaire que catholique. Eux répondaient en disant qu'on ne pouvait pas faire l'analyse d'un milieu social d'après des principes que ce soit des principes chrétiens, marxistes, etc. Il faut de l'objectivité.

And in this man's description of the problems of the apostolic efforts, once again encounters a sense of the contradiction between ideal and practice, or between means and ends:

"Quand il était simple équipier, il (et ses camarades) devaient avoir des contacts apostoliques individuels avec quelques garçons très populaires dans la classe afin de leur faire accepter leurs idées ou de les embrigader dans le mouvement ou de les évangéliser, etc. Il (le sujet) dit que cette méthode n'a jamais fonctionné car elle était contraire à la psychologie des adolescents. Ils se sont donc réorientés vers le concept de l'équipe de travail dont le sujet de discussion était toujours culturel et social. Il avait commencé à établir des équipes semblables dans 200 à 300 écoles.

It has been mentioned before that it was a young person's career, and this was of course a contingency at the end of the career -- after all, a person can successfully act as a student bringing a message or helping to organize other students only so long as he is reasonably near the student age. In this case, however, it presented a problem throughout the career, because whereas in most young person's careers such as baseball or modelling, the young person is more qualified or better endowed for the career than are his elders, there was no such assurance in the case of the JEC directors. The kind of work they were doing required more training and maturity than a young person has. The permanent Jeciste furthermore had to work with the clergy and teachers at tasks previously done by the latter, if they were done at all, but certainly in cooperation with them, in a situation which must have raised some resentment because of the youth and inexperience of the Jecistes. A priest says:

"Cela a été un des échecs de la JEC dans tous les pays du monde. Les jeunes ont pris des responsabilités d'adultes alors qu'ils n'étaient pas encore adultes eux-mêmes... Ainsi, il mentionne des jeunes filles de 17 ans qui réunissaient des religieuses expérimentées dans l'enseignement afin de leur apprendre comment diriger des filles."

A man who was a director for 17 years confirms this in his interview when he says that not all JEC members have gone on to prominence, "There were some who... were pushed into positions of prominence in the diocese by the Bishop or in large territories... and were given work to do that was beyond their powers; many of them just sort of got burnt out and have done nothing of social importance since."

Another difficulty of the career was that this responsibility was often more apparent than real. As one woman put it:

"... on avait moins de responsabilité qu'on croyait parce que dans le fond les évêques continuaient d'exercer un contrôle et continuaient de dominer complètement le tableau, mais nous avions des responsabilités réelles vis-à-vis de la préparation d'une pensée qui a fait évoluer le milieu étudiant..."

And another who was a director for six years said with some bitterness, "on prenait des jeunes, leur faisait croire qu'il y avait une place pour eux dans l'Eglise, et, aussitôt qu'ils s'affirmaient, on leur tapait dessus."

There was in our group of interviewees a general sense of disillusionment and loss of vocation toward the end of their career, but we do not know whether this was due to the frustrations inherent in their jobs or whether it was simply that they were growing older and less idealistic (another hazard to the young person's career when it deals in ideas!). As one said, "Au bout de quelques années, on prend conscience qu'il y a des problèmes profonds qu'on ne peut résoudre. On perd de l'enthousiasme." And another complains:

"A ce moment-là, ils (les permanents à Montréal) se rendaient un peu compte qu'ils étaient incomptents pour le travail. Souvent, ils auraient voulu consulter un psychologue ou un sociologue. Il y a eu beaucoup de pression pour que le mouvement opte en faveur du

religieux avant l'humain comme dans les autres diocèses. On se battait toujours pour avoir une attitude plus respectueuse de la vie humaine."

Only one of our interviewees seems to have survived all these difficulties to his career long enough to leave it simply because he was getting too old for it. This man who was a paid full-time worker for the movement for 17 years does not tell us how he managed all these hurdles, since he was interviewed more as an informant than a subject. He does say, however, that he finally left because there had been remarks that he had become more powerful in certain matters than Bishops, and he did not want to be thought a lay-bishop.

3. Orbit of the Career:

When our interviewees left the employ of the JEC they were still young people, on most cases under 30 years of age. Where did they go then? To what sort of second careers did their experience in the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique lead?

One would expect, on the basis of our analysis of the training which the Jeciste went through to find them in the social sciences, in the communication arts, in teaching and in research, perhaps in administration or organization of unions, if our priest is correct that these people are basically syndicalists. And so it seems to be of the 11 people interviewed, other than the priests, the careers which they have followed since leaving the JEC are as follows:

3 professors in social sciences; all three involved in founding social and mathematic research groups;

1 graduate student in sociology;

1 editor, writer (newspaper);

1 National Film Board writer;

2 social workers;

2 teachers in an experimental school;

1 editor - syndicalist - TV researchist.

In addition to arousing interest in social problems, and providing them with organizational and communication skills, the JEC seems to have contributed some general benefits, no matter what career followed. One woman defined these: "La capacité d'envisager un

ensemble avant le cas individuel ou la préférence personnel... une chance de monter dans l'échelle sociale." Another felt that on returning to university, she had greater maturity than the other students because of her JEC experience.

CONCLUSION

The minds of young people are, like Pandora's box, dangerous things to open. The Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique has let loose a number of eager dedicated people of intelligence on French-Canadian society. They may not be nationalistic in any narrow sense, but they are very much products of French Canada; most of them are full members of it, and self-consciously so. But in nearly all cases their perspectives have changed from those of the movement as originally defined.

This raises two questions which are difficult to answer. One has to do with the place of the church in determining the careers of generation after generation in Quebec. It seems that at present and in the future the influence will not be so much through vocations to religion as before. Several of the professions we have discussed arise out of the loosening of the bond between clergy and lay religious (nuns and brothers) and the various social services (education, medicine, assistance). Perhaps the religious vocation will be more specialized and limited in its functions than before. Many who might have done their work in religious communities may not do it in lay professions. Yet one must notice that quite a number of the laymen whom we interviewed had spent some time in a seminary or religious community. The religious vocation was apparently the generalized ambition which moved young people, with the support of family and the church, to get education and to aspire to higher things. I get the impression that the church may have been content to have more called than were in the end chosen. There have been epochs in which religious vocation was the means of producing candidates for a variety of social functions; candidates for social mobility. That situation may now be reversed. The Church may have to compete with the many other professions. This would be a major change in the social dynamics of Quebec.

The other question has to do with social movements. What sort of careers will the young people in current social movements pursue when they are bit older. For most of them, there will be a change from movement to some more established profession or place. Is there any movement of youth now which will produce a generation of people with the same vigour and enlightenment as one sees in the former JEC people? There is, I believe, no set of people of riper years who have as much power over the various current movements of youth in Quebec as the clergy had over the JEC at its onset. But then, movements are the schools for leadership nevertheless. The movements should be student for reason, among many others.

CHAPTER XI

TEACHERS, STUDENTS OF THE PROGRAMME FOR B.A. FOR ADULTS AT UNIVERSITE DE MONTREAL.

This section deals with some groups of people we ran into more or less accidentally when looking at career problems.

One of the striking things about Montreal at present is the large number of people who, after some years of earning a living, seek by part-time study to earn a college or university degree. The Collège Classique was the one gateway to university in the French-Canadian world. It was not designed to take students of riper years; it took as pupils boys who would, if they continued to the B.A., might become university students. The teacher in the Collèges Classiques, -- and I say this not to inform, but to call attention to the implication of the fact -- were in large proportion priests; some were brothers, few were members of no religious community. In a sense, one could say there was no profession of enseignants, of professeurs, of people whose one and only vocation was teaching of young people of the middle and later teens. Such a group, however, is now growing by leaps and bounds. The proportion of teen-agers in schools of one sort or another is increasing rapidly, as is also the number of people required to teach them.

With the great increase in high school attendance in the United States there was a similar great increase in the demand for teachers. Many of them became high school teachers by upgrading themselves from grammar or elementary school teaching. The night classes and summer schools of American universities became full of part-time students seeking further qualifications so that they might move into high school teaching, school administration, or later, to move into junior college teaching from high school teaching.

At the same time, there was increased demand for higher education among people who had gone into business jobs without it. The Y.M.C.A.,

public school systems, and urban colleges (in the United States, especially Catholic Colleges whose students were the children of immigrants) provided courses for such people and eventually began to give degrees. The Sir George Williams University of Montreal is a case of this kind; it has its counterpart in many American cities. Older Universities did not always cater to the demand; McGill University, for instance did not. Others did.

This movement has now come to French Canada in full force. The Ecoles des Hautes Etudes Commerciales has long performed this function of providing training for people already at work in commerce. It did not do it for the teachers who wanted or were required to upgrade themselves. This appears to be a great function of the B.A. programme for adults. It takes people who are already teaching and prepares them to be part of a more 'professional' corps of teachers and educational administrators.

Another function seems to be to provide a possible complete change of career for people who have worked at some occupation or job for several years, but who see new opportunities coming. To enter higher studies for a profession, new or old, they must first finish the B.A. Only a few are seeking an occupation for their years of retirement; a soldier who is to retire in his middle 40's, for example.

Our interviewers were struck by the lack of intellectual interest in their courses on part of teachers who were working for the B.A. for adults. One said it meant \$700 a year to him to get the B.A.; others noted that it would qualify them for administrative positions. They appeared to find none in our group of fourteen who had great enthusiasm for their course, although the subjects accepted the courses and thought them good. This may be an affect of young, enthusiastic graduate students interviewing older, more settled people, -- past the period of enthusiasms. The B.A. for adults, insofar as it gets true adults, seems to get people who are using the course for career purposes, quite realistically; one might say, bureaucratically, for they do

knew exactly what salary and rank they will get for their credits and degr

We ran into a certain number of a quite different kind of student for the B.A. for adult. They are youngsters who for some reason did not start or did not finish the B.A. at the usual time. They have worked a little while, but have come quickly back to study. Perhaps they were of families where study was not emphasized. Some had failed, or had been advised not to continue. Others had gone to work and had quickly seen the necessity of further study. For these young people -- whom the old Collège Classique system did not provide -- the B.A. for adults programme is a second choice.

This phenomenon is important to our theme because the B.A. for adults represents a movement to make career chances more flexible, to allow for a second chance for many of the young, and to allow retooling and upgrading for those who are older. The stratum of society with which we have been concerned in this project has made great use of various opportunities to change the course of their careers. On the whole, this has been a North American development; the more fixed educational systems of Europe are not friendly to it. They are so built as to require early crucial and irrevocable decision. The whole movement in French Canada at present seems to be towards the flexible system which allows fresh starts. But one must hasten to add that as subjects become more and more technical, the time, money and personal cost of changing may become greater and greater.

One thing seems clearly to be happening that will affect careers in this part of the world. The French educational system is at a very rapid rate founding and developing courses of study and training for a wide range of professions. At first the resulting schools or departments have no alternative to 1) taking many adult students who are making a change in their careers and 2) developing a corps of teachers by sending out for study or by bringing outsiders in. They have a choice as to where they will send the future teachers for study, or as to whence they will fetch them. In either case, one great trend is clear. A much larger proportion of the succeeding generations of French Canadians will go to

school longer, -- much longer. That schooling will be done in the French language, although perhaps much English technical literature will be used. The scientists of the world are in increasing proportion bilingual in their reading, if their native tongue is not English. But the class-room, administrative laboratory, and close colleague communication will be French. In the past, the great majority of French Canadians left school early to go to work. In most kinds of work, -- certainly industrial work and business, -- they there met the English language and learned as, we heard so often, to 'se débrouiller' in it. Those who left school later had both better French and better English.

Although I have not followed up the matter, I keep hearing from French Canadians in the universities, -- both students and staff -- that they can go for weeks without speaking a word of English. My prediction is that by the natural process of lengthening school in general, and by a phenomenal increase in the proportion of French Canadians who go to some sort of professional school, the use of French for an ever wider range of purposes will be greatly increased. Far from decreasing the use of French, the development of an American type of training for, say, nursing or occupational therapy, will increase it. Each such new school creates a new subject to talk about in French; when the colleague group is large enough, French talk will become the rule. This probably will not mean that the people who develop these French circles of communication will not know English, any more than that Dutch professionals or even French physicists who knew English forget their own language.

To engage again in speculation, the great increase in variety of work, and education for it, the elaboration of careers in the post-industrial age favors the use of French. The real questions about bilingualism and biculturalism have to do with the points of contact between languages and ethnic groups in such a division of labor and such an economy.

C O N C L U S I O N

In the preliminary memorandum which I submitted to the research division of the Royal Commission last February, I developed the idea that Quebec, as North America generally and much of western Europe, has passed from an industrial to a post-industrial phase in its economy and labor force; and that it is in course of adjusting its institutions to this new situation. Dean Philippe Garigue not long ago developed the same idea in a speech to the St. Jean Baptiste societies, as reported in the press. The reports I have seen since writing that preliminary memoranda confirm my opinion (which I do not claim is original) that the change from an industrial to a post-industrial economy has upset the basic equilibrium of ethnic relations in Quebec; and that the upset of this balance is affecting not merely the institutions which produce and distribute goods, and ethnically neutral services (such as communications, transport, public safety), but also those which have produced and distributed the services that are distinctly ethnic, such as education, medicine philanthropy and social services and even religion.

In that preliminary report I did not go into the matter of careers. A career is the course of a person through the maze of the social institutions of his time. In the report of which this is the conclusion my colleagues and I give an account of the careers -- or of the earlier parts of careers -- of people in a number of occupations and organizations. All are in the sectors of the economy and service structure which are part of the post-industrial trend, although we did not attempt to get anything like a full sampling of that sector. In effect we have presented our ideas drawn from interviews and observations of the following:

1. People of the lower to middle level in two private companies which show the strong bureaucratic trend common in utilities and industries.
2. People in certain occupations which are becoming more secular and 'professional' or 'professionalized.'
3. People whose careers have been affected by participation in social movements, communications and the arts.

The people in the first group are of a type which businesses, industries and utilities use in large numbers; trained for the lower to middle levels to carry out the routine of large organizations. They are ambitious enough to have got more schooling than their parents provided for them, by going to school part-time after they started work. They do not appear to be restless or to be determined to go much higher in the organizations in which they work. Given the present policy of the companies for which they work, the French speakers of the group probably have better chances for moderate promotion than those who speak only English and who do not take drastic steps to become effectively bilingual.

Recent studies in the United States show that people of this level in industry do not, in fact, move about much from one region to another; they are inclined to stay in or near the cities in which they were reared and went to school. Although our interviews do not prove anything of the sort, I believe the indications are there will be a large increase of people of this sort in the Quebec economy. In the future, it may be that they will have had more schooling before going to work and that the schooling will be of a more technical character. But if technological change continues, they will no doubt continue to get some of their schooling after they start working. It is also likely that those who strive for promotion in a serious way will turn to studies of organization; promotion generally, in such organizations, depends upon the acquisition of social, -- organizational -- skills rather than on more technical skill.

In the electrical power industry people of this level appear to be restless and inclined to join unions and insist on collective contracts. Whether that movement will reach into other utilities and into private industries is a question of interest. Our interviewees did not appear to be much interested in social movements. It is my impression that several of the projects undertaken under the aegis of the Royal Commission will have dealt with people of this kind working in the bureaucratic minor white-collar and supervisory levels of business and industries; perhaps

they will have data on the degree of self-conscious restlessness of this growing category, and on the extent to which language has become a matter of conflict.

The most significant part of our report is that dealing with the 'professionalizing' of the old occupation of nursing and with some new professions. We are here dealing with people who are part of one of the major trends of our time; the secularizing and 'professionalizing' of certain old activities, the developing of newer special service occupations within the institutions which perform basic services, and the development of some completely new services. Our interviews were taken with women; certain of the newer professions are followed almost exclusively by women. There are many which are almost exclusively male; hospital administrators, personnel men, social service actuaries. Some are mixed. The fact that a number of them are essentially women's occupations is itself significant. As the organization of businesses and service institutions becomes more complicated, more 'housekeeping' is required; the housekeeping operations are likely to be performed by women. In Quebec itself, many of the activities of medicine, social service and education were carried out by people in religious orders. As those activities have become more numerous and more specialized, they have become more and more secular (in a certain sense of that word in English), or profane. Women in Quebec appear to be entering the labor force in much greater proportion than in the past and precisely into these new professions or into the professionalized older occupations (nursing, teaching, social service.) As the division of labor in performing services becomes greater, it is probably much more difficult to maintain that segregation of the sexes at work that was characteristic of an earlier phase.

The introduction of these new specialties into practicing institutions and into training institutions requires new personnel. People can be sent outside to get the new training; or strangers can be brought in to give it. All of these new professions are more developed in America than in Europe, although they are developing rapidly at least in

England. In North America training for new professions has been undertaken within the universities; in England and on the continent, within special training schools ordinarily not connected with universities. Quebec has chosen the American way of expanding the functions of universities. The evidence is strong that the revolution in medical institutions and new schemes of distributing medical services is coming to Quebec by way of the United States, and that U.S. models are being followed. The exception is that Quebec may likely forge ahead of the United States in developing schemes for distributing medical services to all of the population.

Here lies Quebec's dilemma. She is integrally North American, and appears to be becoming even more so in technical and organizational matters, but essentially French in language and many features of her culture. It is not merely that United States capital, wares and forms of organization impinge upon Quebec; Quebec is actively going out to take on features which, while more and more common to the western industrial world, are more highly developed in North America. Thus it is that the organizational and professional revolution necessary in Quebec brings great contact with the English-speaking world.

It is the structure of linguistic and cultural contact that must be studied and understood.

It is of the very essence of modern economic and service institutions to require many levels of contact and communication. In medicine, for instance, there are contacts of physicians with scientists, of physicians of a given specialty with each other, of physicians of different specialties of physician with all the kinds of auxiliary members of the medical system (nurses, technicians, therapists, medical accountants, medical librarians, hospital administrators, insurance and government personnel), and (lest we forget) with patients. The contact with patient might very well have to be in joual in Quebec; if I understand Frère Desbiens aright, he would listen to any man's troubles in the appropriate language.

Whatever the decisions taken about formal use of language, the fundamental institutions of modern Quebec will be multilingual in the sense that they will depend upon effective communication in the many kinds of encounters between the people who play various parts in them. At the top, for some proportion of people, there will be the necessity of international communication. For those with the power of command, one language will probably be enough if they have power enough to have interpreters at hand. I think I am right in saying that the great captains of industry are generally unilingual. The question then arises: at what points in complicated systems which produce and deliver goods or services is there need of people who can speak more than one language? There are doubtless many models to be worked out here. In a strictly up-and-down organization where commands go from the top downward, and where the bulk of the people in organization have no contact with the public, all that -- in theory and sometimes in practice -- is required is a group of bilinguals at some level to translate orders (if top management is not of the same language as the basic labor force). In educational, medical, social service and similar institutions, there is contact with various publics by a great number of professional people. One solution here is to have as many sets of institutions as there are ethnic publics to be served. The historic Quebec solution has been two sets of institutions, nominally Catholic and Protestant, in fact French and English; or, as in the law, certain provision for choice of language.

As the institutions which supply services of a somewhat professional nature multiply it is likely that they will apply an increasing body of techniques which are culturally neutral, and that they will require capital expenditures that make it difficult to finance separate sets of institutions. (In the United States, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has enforced racial integration by refusing to pay for two sets of expensive equipment for clinics and hospitals.) On the other hand, as the number of people engaged in research, communication, delivery of professional services increases, no doubt there can be more groups of

professional people who can work together somewhat independently of similar groups. Thus one can imagine a modern, urban, post-industrial society with separate educational, communication, and medical systems, each conducted in its own language, provided that the society is rich enough and provided it has an élite cosmopolitan enough to carry on effective communication on all matters of science, humanistic knowledge, and social and economic policy. One of the problems of a bilingual and bicultural society is to develop such cosmopolitan élites drawn from the two (or more) ethnic groups which are to be served by and employed in its economic, public and other service institutions.

Another is to develop connective tissue at various points in institutions which involve people of the two or more ethnic groups. The bilingual secretaries serve as such in the upper levels of business (trained, incidentally, by those 'housekeepers' of Catholicism, the élite orders of nuns, but rather accidentally. We need much more knowledge of the people who cultivate liaison between ethnic and linguistic groups in various institutions and situations. Our impression is that the people in the new professions we studied are culturally sensitive, and could -- most of them -- serve in either French and English institutions.

And here we come to a problem to which I am not sure any one has the answer. To what extent are professional people exchangeable parts; that is, to what extent can they apply their techniques and knowledge to people and problems outside their own culture. Will the new professional groups be bound to their own culture, or will they not? Some may well be so bound by sentiment and vocation: the teacher, the artist, the actor, the writer, perhaps the social scientist and the teacher of language and literature, although both may become comparative students and to that extent perhaps less 'engagé' in their own culture, language and society. Others may be bound by language, by family connections, and by hostages (seniority, pension payments, etc.) to particular places and institutions. Quebec at one time exported nursing sisters; now she is importing teachers of nursing. There is at present a great deal of migration of young physicians; they come from less industrial countries to England, Canada and the United

States for specialty training and are inclined to stay on longer than necessary for training alone. Labor migration may cease, only to be followed by migrations of professional and technical people. What will happen in Quebec with respect to such migration as it becomes more and more producer of people trained in the new professions and specialties. These are all matters which must be studied if the problems of the new Quebec, and of the bilingualism and biculturalism are to be understood.

In closing, let me mention again the effects of social movements on careers and on social change. It is often allowed that young people may be radical, for will they not settle down to conventional conduct and ideas later. We interviewed a number of people who had been devoted leaders of the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique. Their place in Quebec society has certainly been deeply affected by their participation in the movement. The movement emancipated them once; they were later, most of them, emancipated from the movement in some respects. This double emancipation is probably a more important social phenomenon than anyone has allowed for. A social movement does not merely bring social changes, or fail to do so; it changes the lives and careers of persons. I would like to call attention to the fact that a very large number of young Québécois and Québécoises are now participating in social and political movements that imply emancipation from many of the beliefs and sentiments of their parents and of the traditional French-Canadian world. These young people are Quebec's largest generation of university students, and certainly the most heterogeneous one thus far. They will not always be students; the student-career is important, but brief (in contrast to Latin America). Their careers will be, in effect, the career of Quebec and Canada!

TO
A

MEMORANDUM

R. FRITH

CLASSIFICATION

Ceux qui reçoivent le rapport Hughes

YOUR FILE No.
Votre dossierOUR FILE No.
Notre dossierFROM
De
FOLD

DATE

le 8 novembre 1966

SUBJECT
Sujet

Centre de recherches

- 1) La présentation générale du travail
- 2) Les corrections apportées au texte

Le travail ayant été transcrit sur flans à l'extérieur de la Commission, une légère erreur s'est glissée dans la présentation du texte. Les pages numérotées 5 à 14 inclusive-ment ne font pas partie de l'étude proprement dite mais constituent des annexes et auraient dû être insérées en fin de texte. L'étude comme telle débute par l'introduction (pp. 2-3-4), suivie immédiatement du chapitre 1er commençant en page 15.

Les pages 5 à 14 doivent être identifiées comme suit:

1. pp. 5-6 - General instructions for interviewers
2. pp. 7-8 - Letter to respondents
3. pp. 9-10 - Lettre adressée aux répondants
4. pp. 11-12 - Instruction for using life history chart
5. p. 13 - Form to be used in taking a career history
6. p. 14 - Form used in summarizing school and work career



Errata in Career Patterns of Young Montrealers
in Certain White Collar Occupations

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81	2	of	<u>or</u>	
127	3	leaved	<u>leaves</u>	
128	15	lever	<u>level</u>	
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	33	studies	<u>studied</u>	
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147	28	affect	<u>effect</u>	

